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A SHORT HISTORY OF EUROPE, 1500-1815

BY

ALBERT HYMA
University of Michigan

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PREFACE

History courses, particularly elementary college courses, make considerable demand upon the memory of the students. It has seemed to me, therefore, that a text book for such a course should be written in a clear and simple style, and should contain only such subject matter as the reader can readily absorb and remember. Moreover, the organization of the material should be straightforward and easily grasped; conciseness in dealing with pertinent matters should be maintained; and the conclusions and judgments should be self-evident and convincing.

The historian will find certain variations from the traditional proportions common to texts covering the period of 1500–1815. For example, more than usual emphasis has been placed on the importance of the Netherlands in the economic history of the period. Here the facts presented and the conclusions drawn must speak for themselves. In changing the proportions, however, every effort has been made to avoid the fantastic and to adhere to simplicity and acknowledged fact.

It has seemed advisable to treat the Reformation in a separate chapter rather than to interrupt the discussion of religious movements by a treatment of wars and political questions. The wars fought in the sixteenth century cannot be understood by most students until they have studied the Reformation; hence the latter subject has been presented before the Wars of Religion.

The following colleagues of mine have helped improve the original draft of the present volume: A. L. Cross, E. W. Dow, A. L. Dunham, H. M. Ehrmann, W. A. Frayer, S. M. Scott, and P. W. Slosson. Helpful suggestions were also

received from Professors E. W. Nelson of Duke University, and G. G. Andrews of the University of Iowa, while the lectures by Professor W. A. Frayer which the writer was privileged to hear furnished plausible interpretations of various historic problems. Still more valuable was the editorial work of Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt, who carefully read and re-read the whole manuscript. To all these gentlemen, therefore, I wish once more to express my sincere thanks.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF EUROPE

INTRODUCTION

The land-mass which we call Europe is the western ex-nsion of a vast continent, named Eurasia. On a map of the orld, Europe does not seem to be a separate continent at all, d sometimes it is considered a mere peninsula of Eurasia. o historians, however, the distinction between the two con-nents is imperative. Ever since the heyday of Phoenician mmerce the Continent of Europe was regarded as a separate tity by the peoples living along the Mediterranean. The word urope was derived from the term *Ereb* or *Irib,* which means nset; while the word *Acu,* for sunrise, gave birth to the term sia. The Greeks acquired these names from the Phoenicians, d applied them respectively to the west-coast and east-coast the Aegean Sea. In later times the meaning of the name urope was gradually extended to the area west of the Don ver in Russia, and since the middle of the eighteenth cen-ry it has included also the territory beyond the Don River to the Ural Mountains.

The area of Europe is about 3,750,000 square miles, or one urth greater than that of the United States, one-fiftieth rt of the surface of our globe, and from one-fourteenth to e-thirteenth part of the land surface of the world. If the lar islands of Spitzbergen, Iceland, and Nowaja Semlja Nova Zembla) are added, the total area of Europe must be ckoned as 3,850,000 square miles.

The Continent lies farther north than most students of European history realize at the beginning of their studies. Rome is north of New York, Paris is as far north as the northern boundary of North Dakota, and London as far as Winnipeg and northern Quebec. No place in Europe lies south of the thirty-fifth parallel, which parallel is not far from Wilmington, N. C. The North Cape [1] at the latitude of 71° is usually regarded as the northernmost point of the Continent; while Cape Tarifa,[2] just south of the thirty-sixth parallel, is the southernmost point.

Europe differs from other continents in that its coastline is highly indented, not merely by numerous bays and gulfs but also by great inland seas. The Mediterranean, for example, is two thousand miles long, while the Baltic, the Black Sea, the Adriatic, and the Aegean cover large areas. Outside of Russia, the Continent is relatively narrow, so that no place west of Russia is more than four hundred miles from any large sea. Another physical factor which has had much to do with the peculiar character of European civilization is the great diversity in the surface features of the Continent west of Russia. The large number of peninsulas, together with the grouping of six chains of mountains, have left no room for such vast plains and plateaus as are found in Asia, Africa, America, and even in Australia.

In Scandinavia there is an extensive highland region, which reappears in the highlands of Scotland, and in a modified form in the west of England, Wales, and Ireland, as well as in Normandy and Brittany, in western France. In Spain are several mountain-ridges, and along the frontier between Spain and France are the Pyrenees. In Central Europe three smaller mountain chains form the western, northern, and eastern boundaries of Bohemia. On the southern frontier of Germany are the Alps, which stretch all the way from the Riviera, in

[1] On the island of Magerö, off the north coast of Norway.
[2] Near Gibraltar, on the south coast of Spain.

ARCTIC
ICELAND
FAROE IS.
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES
BRITISH ISLES
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
SCANDINAVIAN HIGHLANDS
BALTIC SEA
Thames
English Channel
Scheldt
Meuse
Rhine
Weser
Elbe
Oder
Seine
Loire
Garonne
Douro
Ebro
Tagus
Guadiana
Guadalquivir
C. Tarifa
PYRENEES
ALPS
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BALEARIC IS.
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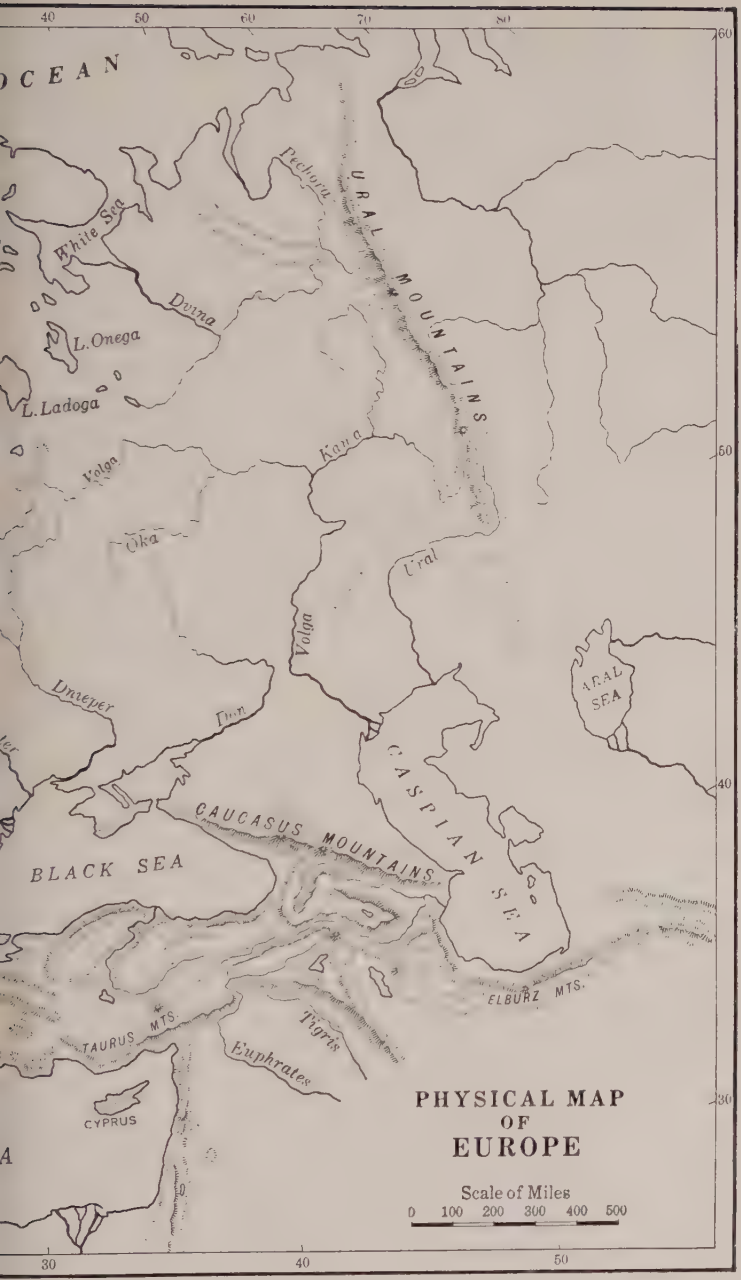
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OCEAN
White Sea
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URAL MOUNTAINS
Dvina
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Volga
Kama
50
Oka
Ural
Volga
Dniepер
Don
ARAL SEA
CASPIAN SEA
40
CAUCASUS MOUNTAINS
BLACK SEA
ELBURZ MTS.
TAURUS MTS.
Tigris
Euphrates
CYPRUS
30
PHYSICAL MAP
OF
EUROPE
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
30
40
50

he extreme south-east of France, through Switzerland and nto Austria. In the Balkan Peninsula there are the Balkan Mountains, in Italy is a separate chain, named Apennines, and between the former empires of Russia and Austria-Hungary, the Carpathians.

The absence of vast plains conditions the absence of very ong rivers. The rivers west of Russia are in fact but insignificant streams compared with the mighty Amazon, the Mississippi, and the longest rivers of Asia and Africa. Even the Danube is only fifteen hundred miles long, and the famous Rhine, a paltry six hundred fifty miles. The Thames, England's proudest stream, is shorter than some of the rivers in Florida or Michigan, while the Seine is only half as long as the Ohio.

The climate of Europe is as diversified as are its surface features. It is of the greatest advantage to the peoples of Europe that the prevailing winds are from the west, bearing moisture from the Atlantic Ocean; the cool breezes in summer and the warm currents of air from the Gulf Stream in winter keep the temperature mild nearly all the year long. Outside of Scandinavia there are no mountain-ridges along the coast, cutting off these currents of air from the west, hence there are no deserts in France and Germany, nor is there much danger of killing frosts south of Norway after the first of May. Spring is early in nearly all European countries. It is a real season here, not merely a period of transition between a long winter and a long summer. The same is true of autumn.

Western Europe is noted then for its diversity of surface features and its equable climate. It is not noted for violent and sudden changes in temperature, or for immense empty spaces, vast mountain chains, or giant rivers. It has much diversity of soil as well as of climate, but, in spite of all this diversity and great variation, it is to Europe more than to any other continent that nature has applied the essence of moderation, and it is this moderation and this diversity that has rendered its history so very different from that of Asia.

It is often said that in unity there is strength and that in unification there is power. In the history of great nations, however, the lack of unity and even of unification has often proved a great advantage. When Europe and Asia first entered upon their struggle for world supremacy, Asia had not only the advantage of size, being five times as large as Europe, but also of time. Twenty-five hundred years ago the hand of civilization had touched only a small portion of Europe's territory, and that in the extreme southeastern corner, nearest to Asia. On the other hand, before the rise of Athens and Sparta, Asia possessed the culture of India, of Assyria, of Palestine, and of China. At the time of the great Solon (500 B. C.) the Persians were conquering a colossal empire, a hundred times larger than Greece. These Persians had the advantage of unity and unification. But what happened? When finally they decided to annex Greece also, and sent the greatest armies the world had ever seen across the straits near Asia Minor, when they faced the soldiers of a people divided by jealousies and rivalries, they learned to their dismay that the Greeks rose to the occasion and defeated their common enemy.

Greece was distinctly European in character. Its history was a prefigurement of the rising power of Europe. Its civilization became one of the bases of European civilization. One might almost call ancient Greece a miniature Europe. She had even shorter rivers and smaller islands, lesser gulfs, and fewer extremes in climate than any other European country of equal or greater size. There was first displayed the result of those peculiar physical conditions which more than any other factors made Europe for more than fifteen centuries the center of civilization, the mistress of the seas, and the conqueror of three other continents and one half of Asia.

Less than two hundred years after the first armies from Persia had met with defeat on the battlefields of Greece, the victorious soldiers of Alexander the Great overran the whole of the former Persian Empire, spreading wherever they went

the culture of Greece; and, although in a few years Alexander's empire fell to pieces in turn, his downfall did not imply the end of European hegemony. Greek was for many centuries to remain the language of millions in Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and the Holy Land. It is probable that all the books of the New Testament were originally written in the Greek tongue, although the dialect used by Jesus of Nazareth was Aramaic.

With the collapse of the Graeco-Macedonian Empire came the opportunity for Asia and northern Africa once more to seize the reins of political and intellectual domination. But neither Egypt nor Persia could rise any more to this task. The tide of leadership passed on still further westward. It was Rome, on another peninsula in southern Europe, which constructed a huge empire on the ruins of that structure so hastily erected by Alexander the Great. For more than four centuries the Romans exercised dominion over all the peoples of northern Africa and the Near East. They adopted much of the culture of Greece. In the realms of philosophy, science, and art they contributed little, but here they simply followed where Greece had led. Their own contributions consisted in conserving and consolidating the gains made by the Greeks, and in shaping highly advanced political institutions. Roman Law was later adopted in a modified form by many civilized nations. The Romans taught the barbarous Teutons how to drain their swamps and how to clear their forests. They constructed roads, threw up dikes, and erected buildings such as have scarcely been surpassed by the architects of later generations. Some of our finest churches are still being constructed on the Roman model. One third of our English vocabulary we owe in a large measure to the Romans, and also a good many little customs which are often regarded as of recent origin.

Rome has been called the "Eternal City," for not only is this city still very much alive, but in the realm of religion it has long exercised widespread dominion. The Roman Empire lasted longer than any previous empire. Its legions and law-

makers seemed for centuries invincible. Rome might have continued to ward off the attacks of Teutonic invaders from the north, if there had not been in operation causes of decline in the empire itself. Among them were moral corruption, waste of fertility of the soil, economic chaos, slavery, and civil war.

Rome was sacked by barbarians. Roman legions were dispersed by poorly trained Teutons. Roman bridges, churches, palaces, and fortresses were demolished, libraries were destroyed, and schools were closed. Only in the eastern half of the former empire did civilization maintain itself against the attacks of migrating barbarians. Large sections of France, Spain, and Italy were overrun by Goths, Huns, Vandals, and Franks. Terrible was the destruction they wrought, leaving the cause of learning in the hands of monks and priests. The Franks, however, managed for a brief period to restore order in a large part of western Europe. Their most successful ruler was Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, whom both the French and the Germans have claimed as one of their own, but who was a native of a district which is now a part of Belgium. He conquered the Saxons in northwestern Germany. Their neighbors to the west, called Frisians, also had to surrender to his power. In addition Charlemagne ruled over all of France and a part of Italy and Spain. It is worth noting that, although the name France is derived from the term Franks, the language of the Franks bears little relationship to French. The Flemings of northern Belgium and the Dutch people still speak what may be regarded as a modern version of the Frankish language.

Charlemagne died in the year 814. Shortly after his death the Northmen from Scandinavia swooped down upon the Frankish dominions, pillaging cathedrals, ransacking monasteries, devastating the fields, arriving with empty ships and leaving with great cargoes of booty. Once more chaos reigned in France and Germany. During the ninth and tenth centuries the fires of civilization were burning very low in western Europe. England had been settled in the fifth and sixth

centuries by Angles from the Scandinavian countries and Saxons from Germany; with them had come a few bands of Frisians, who probably had joined them as they came past the shores of what is now Holland. In the eighth century Spain was invaded from northern Africa by Mohammedans, called Moors. These invaders, however, were not barbarians, and built up a highly advanced civilization in southern Spain. For several centuries the Christians in the north kept up a stubborn crusade to regain the lost territory, but until the fifteenth century the Moors held many strongholds. From about the year 900 till 1200, then, we may say that southern Spain and the region around Constantinople were the two chief centers of superior civilization in Europe. Another center, but of lesser note, was Ireland. In the thirteenth century civilization was diffused throughout western Europe.

There was one institution in medieval Europe which did more to maintain a comparatively high level of civilization than is commonly understood at the present time. That institution was the Christian Church. The monks in their monasteries and the parish priests in the towns and villages preserved the records of the past, taught young and old, and preached the ideals of Christ and the Church Fathers to audiences which implicitly believed the members of the clergy. It may seem difficult to realize now that everybody was born into the Church in practically the whole of Europe. It may appear strange now that the clergy at one time were nearly the sole agents of education and at the same time were believed to be the only means of salvation for the soul of every human being. One should carefully bear in mind that the Christian Church was by far the mightiest institution in the Middle Ages. It profoundly affected the life of every man, woman, and child. When civilization seemed at the point of being obliterated, when barbarians attempted to destroy the last vestiges of ancient learning, the clergy stepped in, copied manuscript after manuscript, rebuilt libraries, and founded new schools, in order that the light of

the Christian religion might dispel the darkness of paganism.

Historians used to apply the term "Dark Ages" to almost the whole of the medieval period. They were right in telling about the disastrous invasions of such tribes as the Huns and the Vandals. They made no error in emphasizing the havoc wrought by the Northmen in the ninth and tenth centuries. Nor were they mistaken in their opinions regarding the lack of learning among laymen. But in recent times historians have come to the conclusion that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries brought a great revival of learning to western Europe. These and the two following centuries certainly cannot be classed among the "Dark Ages." In this period the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Cologne, Prague, Leipzig, Erfurt, Bologna, and a host of others were founded. In France, Italy, and Germany there was much literary activity of a high order. Mystics gathered in ever increasing numbers; new schools were being founded in many localities. In Italy the cities began to supplant the monasteries as chief centers of learning and art. Northern France and the southern half of the Low Countries saw the rise of new cities, the beginning of new industries, the development of more scientific agriculture, and an enormous expansion of commerce. In northern Germany and adjoining territory a sort of commercial union among many cities, called Hansa League, was founded with headquarters in Lübeck. There was an increasing flow of commerce along the Rhine and Danube, and also across the Alps. Most remarkable of all the new cities was Venice, situated on a number of islands off the Italian coast in the northern Adriatic. Like ancient Tyre and Sidon of the Phoenicians, it gradually extended its sway over the eastern half of the Mediterranean area, annexing a large region in northern Italy, some strips of land along the east-coast of the Adriatic, and the islands of Crete and Cyprus. Other great centers of commerce and in-

dustry in Italy were Genoa, Florence, Milan, and Naples, all of which were independent states.

Strange to say, though Italy was weak politically, though it lacked unity and unification, it had for some time been leading all Europe in several branches of human enterprise. In the realms of commerce and industry, art and science, literature and law, it surpassed all other European countries. In Rome lived and labored the pope, head of the Roman Catholic Church. Florence, Venice, and Rome produced and employed Dante, greatest of all Italian poets; Petrarch, one of the restorers of classical knowledge, and himself a poet of no mean rank; Raphael and Michelangelo, two of the world's greatest painters; Leonardo da Vinci, painter, sculptor, scholar, and poet; Lorenzo Valla, the keen critic; Ficino, the great philosopher; Machiavelli, the brilliant statesman; and scores of others who will always be reckoned among the world's greatest thinkers and artists.

The intellectual outburst witnessed in Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is usually called the Renaissance, which term is the French equivalent of the word rebirth. The name implies that Italy and all the countries of western and central Europe had neglected the study of ancient civilizations, particularly those of Greece and Rome, or, in other words, the classics. For Italians the term conveyed an additional meaning. The scholars of Florence and Venice were reminded of their country's glorious past. They now remembered with pride that Italy was once the center and Rome the capital of a huge empire, and with reverence they now began to study the works of Cicero, Livy, Horace, Terence, and Sallust. Petrarch and his followers roamed from place to place in search of old manuscripts containing the lost works of the great Roman writers. They regarded with scorn the scribes who had refused to copy these works because they had been composed by pagans. As their reverence for the old masters increased, they

felt ashamed of the brand of Latin then current in Italy as well as in France and Germany. Their contention was that this Latin was a corruption of the diction of Cicero. So they sedulously sought to reform the current Latin, hoping that the new editions of the classics would prove to be models for students and teachers alike. Great interest was also displayed in the old Roman Law. Students came in large numbers from England, France, and Germany to study law in the university of Bologna.

But the Renaissance was more than a revival of Roman civilization, and it did far more than revive the use of classical Latin. When the Italian humanists brought to light the hidden treasures of ancient civilization, they not only created an interest in the works of Roman scholars and artists, but also revealed to an astonished world the productions of Greek dramatists and philosophers. The occupation of Constantinople and surrounding territory by the Turks likewise had far-reaching consequences in the realm of classical scholarship. Greek scholars were compelled to migrate from the Balkan Peninsula and found a congenial home in the thriving cities of Italy. Greek manuscripts proved that the monks in western Europe had relied on incorrect versions of the works of Aristotle, while the real Plato had scarcely been known by the professors of theology and philosophy in such centers of learning as Bologna, Paris, and Oxford. The study of Greek suddenly became a necessity for students in the great universities; Greek philosophy now more than ever was taught in the institutions of higher learning. In Florence was founded the Platonic Academy, where Ficino interpreted the Platonic philosophy; and from beyond the Alps arrived hundreds of great thinkers who eagerly imbibed in Italy the wisdom of Plato as well as the teachings of Roman statesmen and lawmakers.

Thus it happened that at the close of the medieval period, just as at the very beginning of that period, Italy was a focus of higher civilization in Europe. Whether or not the

cepter of intellectual domination would again be snatched rom the hands of the Italians by northern peoples, after the atter had for the second time drunk at the fountains of learn- ng south of the Alps, was a question which seemed fraught vith momentous possibilities.

SUGGESTED READINGS

The Geography of Europe

E. W. Dann, *Historical Geography on a Regional Basis,* vol. II, *Europe,* London, 1908.

. K. Wright, *The Geographical Basis of European History.* This book proves clearly the immense importance of geography in connection with nearly all aspects of history.

Medieval Europe

L. Thorndike, *The History of Medieval Europe,* contains excellent maps, is well written in parts and treats the subject very fully.

G. B. Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages.* A work of exceptional merit. The style is distinctive.

D. J. Thatcher and E. H. McNeal, *Europe in The Middle Ages.*

E. Emerton, *Beginnings of Modern Europe,* 1250–1450. Presents a brief elementary survey of late medieval history.

L. Thorndike, *A Short History of Civilization,* chapters XXIII–XXX.

Textbooks of Modern European History

C. J. H. Hayes, *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe;* vol. I. covers the period from 1500 to 1815.

E. R. Turner, *Europe, 1450–1789.*

W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe* (1415–1789).

C. P. Higby, *History of Europe* (1492–1815).

Sets and Dictionaries

The Cambridge Modern History. Many of the chapters in the twelve large volumes are by authorities; some are excellent while others are mediocre. The bibliographies at the end of each volume are extensive. Unfortunately, however, the titles are so arranged that one cannot distinguish the good books from the poorer kind. Many books listed have been wholly superseded by later publications.

Encyclopaedia Britannica, eleventh edition. An invaluable source of information on the greatest variety of subjects.

Dictionary of National Biography. Very useful for quick reference.

Catholic Encyclopaedia. Of great value to students interested in theology and religion.

Atlases

W. R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas.* Very comprehensive and accurate.

E. W. Dow, *Historical Atlas.* Shorter than Shepherd, but equipped with a very good index.

R. Muir and G. Philip, *Putman's Historical Atlas, Mediaeval and Modern.* The new edition (1927) rivals Shepherd, now that the pages are twice as large as those in the earlier edition. Much space has been devoted to Great Britain and North America, but the Continent of Europe has been somewhat neglected.

CHAPTER I

THE PASSING OF THE MIDDLE AGES

The period between the fall of the Roman Empire and the opening of the sixteenth century is usually termed the Middle Age or Middle Ages. The end of this period, which naturally marks the beginning of modern history, has been variously estimated to lie between the early development of the Renaissance in the fourteenth century and the close of the Thirty Years' War (1648). Since the division of history into periods must necessarily be arbitrary, it is desirable to establish such dates for the lines of division as suggest no sudden change, but rather a long and gradual transition from one period to another. The year 1500 is such a date. To say, then, that modern history begins with the year 1500 is to imply simply that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, primarily in Europe, a number of changes took place in the lives of the most advanced peoples which constitute the line of demarcation between medieval and modern civilization.

There were marked changes experienced by the peasants, as well as the townspeople; there were changes in methods of agriculture and industry, changes in commerce, changes in the church and in the universities,—changes everywhere. These changes were not primarily the results of single events, such as the fall of Constantinople (1453), or the discovery of America (1492), though these events were very important. Nor were these changes so sudden and so far-reaching as they must appear to one who has not yet sufficiently acquainted himself with conditions in the late medieval period. Human beings remain fundamentally the same from age to age, al-

though they are always subject to some minor change. At times the change will be slight and gradual, at other times marked and sudden. Around the year 1500 the change in European society was varied in scope and duration. It was felt by all classes of people, and was so ramified that it may be called partly a social, partly an economic, partly a political, and partly a religious change. Finally, it was in operation in the schools, resulting in new methods in education, great inventions and discoveries, and an enormous increase in learning.

Life in the Country

In the year 1500 the ratio between rural and urban population was quite different in most European countries from what it is now. Fully nine tenths of the people lived in small villages and on great estates, nearly all of them being peasants, that is, people working on the fields, who, unlike the American farmers, formed the lowest rank in the social system. Relatively few peasants had homes outside of the small villages. Their custom was, like that of thousands of peasants in Europe today, to start out early in the morning from their homes in the village for the fields. Strange though it may seem, none of them had far to walk, for the strip of land that was allotted to each was near the village.

In many European countries the peasants were still mostly serfs, but in England, the Low Countries, and parts of France serfdom had disappeared. A serf was bound to the soil. When the land on which he worked for the proprietor was sold, his services were sold with it along with the cattle. But he was not a slave; he was not the personal property of any man. As a rule he had to work two or three days a week for his master, and also a few weeks a year in busy seasons. For this work he received no pay. Moreover, he was expected to present to his lord at stated intervals a share of his own crops, or some of his best fowls or an equivalent. His freedom was further

restricted in that he was not permitted to marry without the consent of his lord and when he died the latter might seize one of his best animals. If he left no heirs, the lord received all his property.

Those peasants who were no longer serfs could move around as they pleased, but as a matter of fact they were nearly as stationary as were the serfs. Very few of them owned land. They remained in the same village where before they had lived as serfs. Most of them were now working for wages, but gradually an increasing number were securing some land of their own, while others became tenants. They did not as a rule have separate pastures for their cattle, but let them graze on the village commons. Another plot of ground which the peasants owned collectively, if they were freemen, was the woodland. Here they used to pick up branches for their fuel, and would occasionally fell a tree. Their fuel was almost unbelievably scanty. Even today one can find peasants in various European countries gathering little twigs for fuel, which very few American farmers would ever care to use. Their methods of cultivation were also extremely primitive. Plowing was done with crude implements made of wood, and threshing with flails. Crops were cut by hand with a sickle or scythe. Practically no machinery was used before the year 1800. However, in Italy and the Low Countries, where scientific experimentation was made possible by the increasing wealth of townspeople and peasants, many improvements were being made. It had been customary in medieval times to divide the fields in such manner that one strip out of three lay fallow for a whole year in order to maintain the fertility of the soil. But in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the peasants of Flanders discovered a system of rotation which enabled them to utilize all their land. In Holland many other improvements were soon to follow.

The houses in the villages were nearly all of a very simple type. In many districts they sheltered both people and cattle.

Wooden floors were deemed a luxury. Many farmers in Europe still have earthen floors in some of their rooms. Stoves with pipes and chimneys were also very rare, while glass for window panes was unknown except in the homes of a few wealthy nobles. The social status of all the peasants was greatly inferior to that of even our poorest farmers. Practically none of them could read or write. Their children as a rule never went to school. The people in the cities and all the nobles heartily despised them, partly because it was they on whose labors the structure of national wealth largely rested. Their sweat enabled noblemen to live in luxury without doing much or any work. Their ignorance and lack of organization deprived them of the many rights and privileges which the cities had already wrested from kings, dukes, and counts. Hence they all were still in a sense unfree. When roads needed repair, the peasants, whether serfs or freemen, were called upon to furnish the labor without pay. In most districts they were obliged to bake their bread in the ovens of the great noble, press the wine out of their grapes in his wine-press, and grind their flour in his mill, whereupon he would exact from them a goodly share of their products. The great currents of intellectual and religious revival, the results of discoveries and reforms swept past the little villages, leaving the backward inhabitants nearly as ignorant and superstitious as before.

Quite different were conditions in the homes of the privileged class, the men and women of "gentle birth," the nobles. None of them was expected to work for his living. Wherever serfdom was still flourishing they demanded enough from the serfs to keep themselves always in comfort, and in all other regions their estates were large enough to yield a handsome income either in the form of rent, or shares, or profit from the laborers. There had been a time when the nobles had richly deserved their privileges. During the five centuries of disorder which followed the fall of the Roman Empire,

the nobles had protected the lives and the property of the peasants from the attacks of Goths, Huns, Vandals, Northmen, and Saracens. The common people, unable to defend themselves, had gladly surrendered a part of their property and personal liberty to the nobles. But after the beginning of the eleventh century order had gradually been restored. Moreover, the rise of "national" states with a strongly centralized government resulted in another means of protection for the people. Now it was the king or the duke or the count alone who came to their defense. But the nobles retained nearly all their rights. From the king or emperor they held as tenants-in-chief large estates, called fiefs. In return for these grants of land, they were supposed to render services of various kinds; at first military support, later some equivalent. A very complicated system of personal relationships had grown up between those who had granted the land and those who had received it. The former were called lords, the latter vassals. In theory the king owned all the land in his kingdom. Beneath him were the greater nobles, the tenants-in-chief. They were his vassals, but in return they had vassals of their own, who had received from them much smaller grants. In many instances, therefore, a nobleman would be both lord and vassal. It frequently happened that a duke was a vassal of a lesser noble.

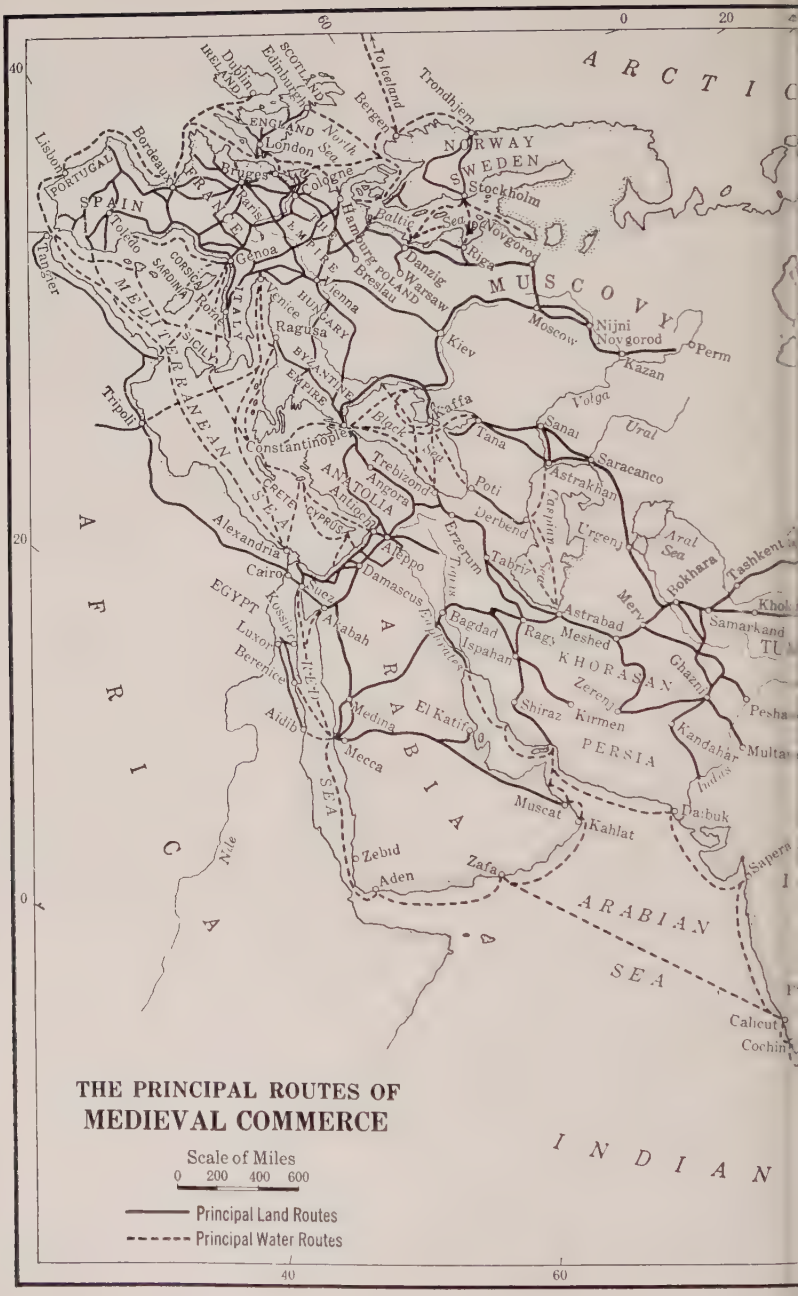
A careful distinction should be made between feudalism, or the relation between lords and vassals, and serfdom. Feudal tenure was "honorable," while servile tenure was not. No serf was ever a vassal; no vassal was ever a serf. A serf belonged to the land, while land belonged to the vassal. A serf owed extremely heavy obligations to his lord, but a vassal merely paid a small fee as a reminder of earlier times when his predecessors had rendered military service. Serfdom was not essentially a part of the feudal system. Serfs were always beneath vassals in the social order. Vassals were not necessarily inferior in social rank to lords. A duke might have

a score of vassals in his own duchy, but at the same time he might be the vassal of a count, from whom he had received a fief belonging to a county. In the year 1500 feudalism still existed in England and the Low Countries where serfdom by this time had disappeared.

As the number of free peasants increased, they, with the rapidly growing cities, were soon to strike a death-blow at both feudalism and serfdom, which institutions were a heritage of earlier civilizations. With the passing of the Middle Ages feudalism and serfdom were partly destroyed in most European countries, and completely vanished in those regions where commerce and industry caused the cities to dominate the rural communities.

Towns Old and New

One of the reasons why the towns of Europe as late as the year 1500 contained less than one tenth of all the inhabitants, was lack of intercourse between town and country. In contrast with conditions in our day, the peasants seldom found it necessary to buy groceries or tools or anything else in town. They did buy a great deal of salt there, which they needed partly to keep their meat throughout the long winters. Occasionally they secured a supply of fish and one or two implements for cultivation, but aside from that they managed to get along without purchases in town. Industry in those days was still in its infancy. The factory system was three hundred years distant. Cloth was spun and woven at home. Food was scanty and simple. Fuel was cut on the commons. Peddlers would come through the villages, however, to vend their wares, and to tell the country folk strange tales of distant lands. They seldom failed to arouse the curiosity of children and housewives, but, in spite of their frequent trips and their heavy sales, they cannot be said to have fostered direct communication between town and country.


THE PRINCIPAL ROUTES OF
MEDIEVAL COMMERCE
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Principal Land Routes
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AFRICA
ARABIA
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ARABIAN SEA
MUSCOVY
NORWAY
SWEDEN
ENGLAND
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
FRANCE
ITALY
HUNGARY
POLAND
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
ANATOLIA
EGYPT
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RED SEA
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Persian Gulf
Nile
Trondhjem
Bergen
Stockholm
Novgorod
Riga
Danzig
Warsaw
Breslau
Hamburg
Cologne
London
Bruges
Paris
Bordeaux
Lisbon
Toledo
Genoa
Venice
Vienna
Ragusa
Corsica
Sardinia
Sicily
Rhodes
Cyprus
Crete
Tripoli
Constantinople
Trebizond
Angora
Antioch
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez
Damascus
Aleppo
Tana
Caffa
Kiev
Moscow
Nijni Novgorod
Perm
Kazan
Volga
Ural
Astrakhan
Saracanco
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Poti
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Tabriz
Erzeum
Urgenj
Bokhara
Tashkent
Samarkand
Astrabad
Meshed
Rags
Ispahan
Bagdad
Basra
Shiraz
Kirmen
Zerenge
Khorasan
Chaeni
Kandahar
Multan
Pesha
Indus
Dabuk
Kahlat
Muscat
Zafar
Aden
Zebid
Mecca
Medina
El Katif
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Kossier
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Dublin
Edinburgh
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North Sea
Baltic Sea
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
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Persian Gulf
Red Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Nile
Arctic
Africa
Arabia
Persia
Indian
Arabian Sea
Muscovy
Norway
Sweden
Spain
Portugal
France
Italy
Hungary
Poland
Byzantine Empire
Anatolia
Egypt
Muscovy
Moscow
Nijni Novgorod
Perm
Kazan
Kiev
Volga
Ural
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Caffa
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Derbend
Tabriz
Erzeum
Urgenj
Aral Sea
Bokhara
Tashkent
Samarkand
Astrabad
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Aral Sea
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Nile
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Africa
Arabia
Persia
Indian
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Muscovy
Norway
Sweden
Spain
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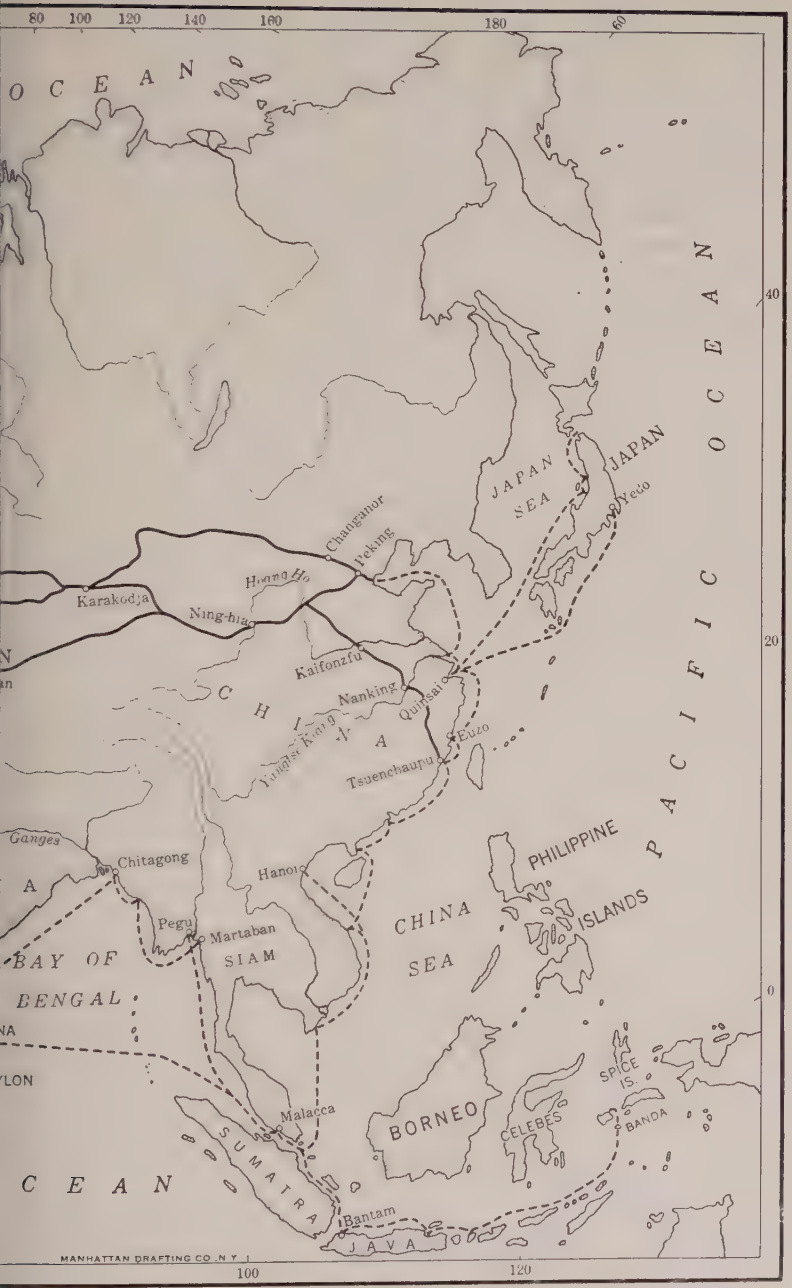
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OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
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Peking
Hoang Ho
Karakodja
Ning-hia
Kaifonzfu
Nanking
Quinsai
CHINA
Yuhgse Kiang
Tsuenchaupu
Ezzo
Ganges
Chitagong
Hanoi
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
CHINA SEA
Pegu
Martaban
SIAM
BAY OF BENGAL
Malacca
SUMATRA
BORNEO
CELEBES
SPICE IS.
BANDA
Bantam
JAVA
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO., N.Y.

Commerce and industry have ever been the life blood of cities. It is true that not all cities have owed their origin either to trade or industry, or to both; nevertheless not one of them all has yet risen to prominence without the aid of these two agencies. In the year 1500 many European cities were already quite old, dating back to the time of the Roman Empire. Rome itself was a notable example. Among the others were Constantinople, Vienna, Lyons, Paris, Cologne, and London. In Italy there were several great city-states, such as Venice, Milan, Genoa, Florence, and Naples. Important cities of Spain with a long history behind them were Cordova, Seville, Madrid, and Barcelona. In central Europe were Trier, Mainz, Nuremberg, and Prague. The Hansa League in Germany and the Low Countries was composed of such cities as Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Dordrecht, Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp. Norwich was England's second port, and Amster-

dam, the future capital of Holland, was slowly rising to fame. In Portugal was the great port of Lisbon. Among the most important French cities were Marseilles, Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Rouen.

If it had not been for the cities, no Columbus would ever have discovered America, no universities would have been founded, no great inventions could have been made, and no great art could have flourished in Europe. For the student of European history, therefore, the cities assume an importance altogether out of proportion to the number of people that dwelt in them. Although but one tenth of the population lived in the cities, it was that one tenth which made history.

London, which is now the huge capital of an immense empire, with a teeming population of some eight millions, was, when Columbus set sail for America, what we should call a small town. It counted around 50,000 inhabitants. Paris, the largest city of Europe, was about five times as large. In the Low Countries, or Netherlands were Ghent and Antwerp, which probably had a population of about 50,000 each. Rome at this time could not claim more than 50,000 inhabitants. The largest city in Germany was said to be Erfurt, with a population of 20,000, but it is probable that Cologne and Nuremberg were a trifle larger. Venice must have had around 100,000 inhabitants, while Genoa, Florence, and Milan certainly had over 50,000 each.

Cities naturally grew up near the mouths of rivers, as happened with London, Lisbon, Hamburg, Antwerp, Havre, and Bordeaux. In our own country the rise of New York and New Orleans are good illustrations. Other cities developed at the confluence of rivers, such as Lyons, Paris, Mainz, and Ghent. The American city of St. Louis is such an example. A good port materially hastened the process of growth, as was the case with Genoa, Marseilles, Seville, Lübeck, Bruges,

and later with Amsterdam. Some cities, however, owed their origins to other causes. It frequently happened that around the court of a bishop a city grew up. Liège in the Low Countries had such a history. Trier in Germany and Rheims in France were also notable examples. Other factors which aided the rise of the newer cities were the presence of a great castle at some strategic place, as in Ghent; a shallow ford in an important stream as at Oxford; a favorable location at the old Roman roads; or a famous monastery which drew many pilgrims from distant lands.

Whatever may have caused the rise of any town, old or new, it should be borne in mind that no town could thrive without industry and trade. The moment trade expanded, the cities naturally expanded with it. The chief factor, therefore, in the growth of European cities was the commercial revolution which resulted from the great geographical discoveries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This revolution in turn not only hastened materially the end of serfdom and feudalism, but also caused the disappearance of many ancient institutions and customs in the cities, gave a tremendous impetus to the increase in learning and art, and practically created the great middle class in the social order of Europe, frequently called the *bourgeoisie,* which was to direct the development of nearly all great modern institutions.

One of the institutions in the cities which rapidly disintegrated after the year 1500 was the gild system. It had served a useful purpose in the Middle Ages, inasmuch as it had proved a form of protection against oppression by the great nobles, and against theft and dishonesty by both workmen and loafers. There were two kinds of gilds, namely the merchant gild and the craft gild. The merchant gild was the older of the two, and was the first to decline. It consisted of all merchants who sold or bought wares in town, hence its name. Its chief purpose had long been to regulate prices and to en-

force honest dealings. But it had also other functions. The gild resembled our present masonic orders in that it emphasized the social and protective duties of the members. They were all brothers. If one member was in debt the gild would relieve him. Wives, widows, and orphans of members received financial as well as moral support. Imprisoned members were ransomed. Those who went out on long journeys were protected by the gilds of other cities. Then there were the meetings, where business freely mingled with festivity. Funerals of members were always well attended by the other brothers, and the sick seldom lacked care. Furthermore, the gild as a body would rise against the feudal lords wherever these lords claimed jurisdiction over the towns. It was generally the gild which had established the practice whereby a runaway serf became a freeman after having lived in a town for a year and a day.

The craft gilds were composed of wool manufacturers, silk weavers, druggists, physicians, notaries, bakers, butchers, shoemakers, carpenters, tailors, brewers, smiths,—in short, of all those who were engaged in some industry. Each single industry was represented by a separate gild so that craft gilds were much more numerous than merchant gilds. In many cities it was not uncommon for members of various craft gilds to have membership also in the merchant gild. The craft gilds regulated prices of articles manufactured, methods of manufacture, quality of materials, and wages of the younger men who worked for the members of the gild. A master had a shop in his own house, where journeymen and apprentices worked for him, the latter without wages, since they were only learning the trade. It took several years before a boy had learned enough to become a journeyman. And again, only after a long period of probation, usually followed by an examination, was the journeyman promoted to the rank of master.

In the sixteenth century both merchant and craft gilds were

declining. For one thing there was too great a tendency on the part of the masters to form closed corporations, so that it became increasingly difficult for apprentices and journeymen to enter the ranks of master-workmen by sheer merit. The rigid regulations proved a hindrance to free development of trade and industry which as a result found other channels for expansion. Finally the rich business men, unwilling to be restricted by the old rules, literally crushed the life out of the gilds. They in turn developed entirely different organizations and institutions, which will be discussed in a later chapter.

Another change in the lives of the townspeople before and during the sixteenth century was the growing independence of their towns. Whereas in earlier centuries many of the smaller towns had merely formed a part of a great estate or manor, and larger cities had been controlled by princes and kings, now the majority of the towns were in possession of charters, which they had wrested or bought from the monarch and his great vassals. Each charter enumerated the privileges and exemptions allowed to the town. It would state, for example, that henceforth the king would no longer levy a tax on the inhabitants. The town government would do that itself, and give the king each year a lump sum of money. The charter, if old enough, also mentioned the fact that serfs became freemen in town after a year and a day. The people in the town usually enjoyed the right to fortify the urban area with enormous walls. Some towns were actually independent republics, as were the city-states in Italy. Many German towns, called Imperial Cities, were virtually independent of the Emperor. In the Netherlands the cities also had a certain degree of independence, although one cannot speak of them as city-states, even in those districts where the principal town gave its name to the whole territory, as happened in Groningen, Utrecht, and Antwerp. In none of these three did the adjoining territory belong to the chief town. In France the cities were usually allies of the king, partly because the higher nobility was

their common enemy, and partly on account of the protection they needed for their growing trade.

Some towns had received in their old charters the right to hold fairs. Here a great volume of goods was bought and sold. It is important to note that many fairs in medieval times were not held in towns, which will explain why there was so little trade enjoyed by medieval towns. Kings frequently permitted abbots, bishops, and barons to hold fairs once or twice a year. The tendency became later to have them more frequently, until finally many cities had weekly fairs.[1]

Cities like Paris, Rome, Florence, and Nuremberg still possess many of the old medieval buildings. The two most prominent structures in every city were the cathedral and the town hall. Those towns in which no bishop had his seat, and in which for that reason no cathedral was located, still had one or more large churches. The most wealthy burghers lived in roomy houses, but none of these could match the churches in size and grandeur. Since the streets were narrow, it happened frequently that the upper stories of the largest homes protruded over part of the street, in order to save space. The area of even the greatest cities was exceedingly small as compared with our American cities. The average American city of 25,000 inhabitants covers as much space as the typical European city with a population of 100,000, either in the sixteenth or twentieth century. There were, however, within the walls of the most compact city, small plots of cultivated ground. Many townspeople kept cattle in town. Goats and pigs felt very much at home on the streets, which may have

[1] There are cities in Europe now which hold weekly fairs. One city will have a fair every Friday, another every Thursday, still another every Wednesday. On the evening preceding the fair, and early in the morning of the great day, special busses, steamboats, and carts bring immense supplies of merchandise to the city, which will be bought partly by the storekeepers of the town and the surrounding villages, and partly by the burghers and the farmers. One can learn a great deal about the development of trade in such districts by attending some of those weekly fairs.

been largely due to the fact that most of the streets were extremely dirty and muddy, reeking with the stench of garbage. Only a heavy rain would ever remove the filth. Little wonder that when night fell few people ventured out upon the streets. No lights would guide them safely home again, no police force stood ready to protect them. Late in the evening the curfew rang, as if to tell the people that the streets would not be safe till daybreak. So the peaceful burghers remained at home, and silence reigned in the streets all night. There were of course exceptions. As early as the year 1500 several great cities had begun to break with the past. Increasing wealth resulted in greater comforts for the whole populace. And where the richer cities led, the others followed later.

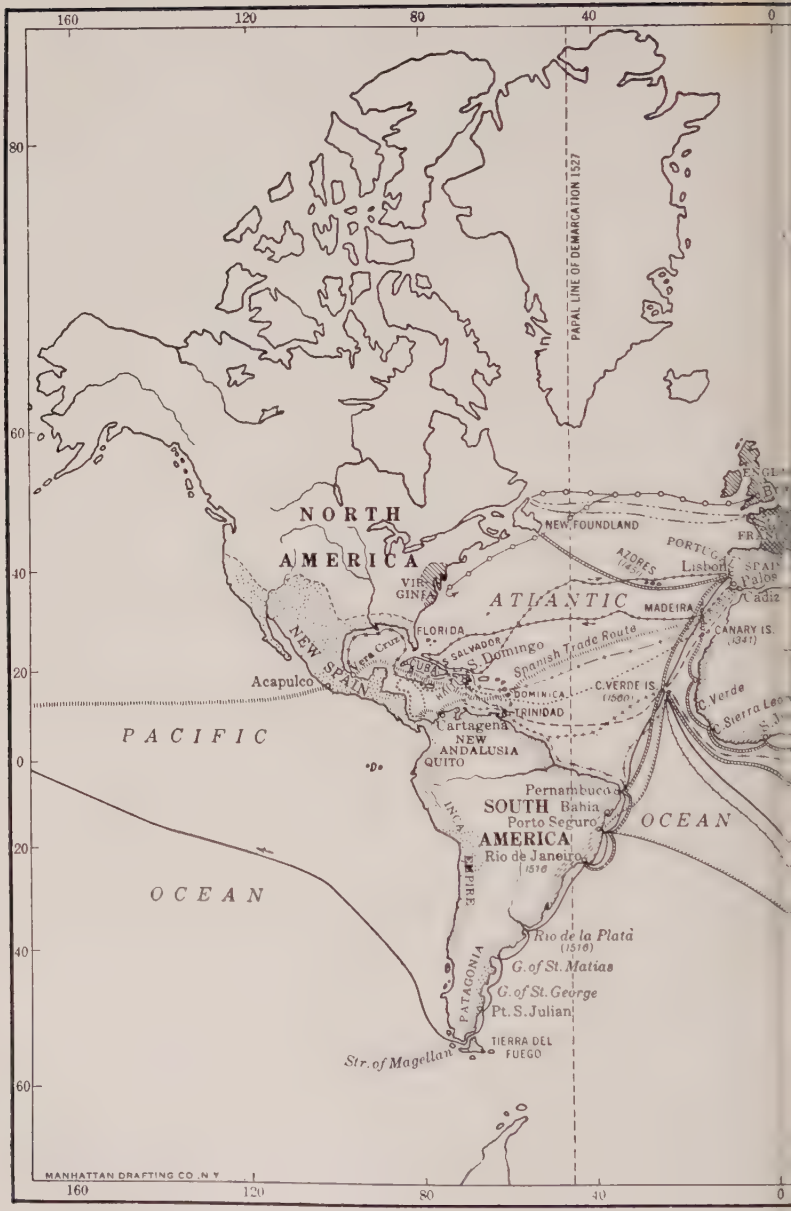
Beginnings of European Expansion

When the Roman Empire broke up, trade naturally languished. European intercourse with Africa and Asia practically ceased. The Crusades in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did revive interest in countries of the Near East. The advance of the Ottoman Turks, on the other hand, began to interfere with traffic across Asia Minor, Syria, and Arabia. The Turks conquered Cairo in the year 1517, thus obstructing somewhat the passage across the region west of the Red Sea in Africa. As the difficulties of travel in Asia and Northern Africa increased, reports concerning the fabulous riches of India, China, and Japan became ever more exciting. The merchants of Europe never ceased clamoring for the products of Asiatic countries. There were supposed to be immense stores of precious stones and metals heaped up somewhere in that mysterious region in the Far East called "Cipangu" (Japan). Long before the fall of Constantinople and the interference of the Turks with the trade across the eastern half of the Mediterranean area, however, the Portuguese had made successful efforts to explore the west coast of Africa. Under the capable

leadership of Prince Henry, the Navigator (1394–1460), they colonized the Madeira and Azores Islands, and reached a point on the African Coast which they named Cape Verde. Finally, in 1487, Diaz, also a Portuguese, reached the Cape of Good Hope. Ten years later Vasco de Gama passed beyond this cape, and in May, 1498, landed at Calicut in India.

Both Portugal and Spain were admirably situated as bases for the enterprises of explorers. It was perfectly natural that they should snatch from Venice the scepter of commercial and colonial supremacy. Trade in the eastern Mediterranean now came almost to a standstill. Pirates infested the harbors on the north shore of Africa, but the oceans were still free. Hence the route of world commerce inevitably shifted away from eastern Europe to the Iberian Peninsula and the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. This shifting of trade routes had far-reaching effects. It greatly widened the horizon for the peoples of western Europe. First Portugal and Spain, then Holland and England, became the leading commercial nations in the world. Each country in turn built up a huge empire, amassed immense wealth, spread the civilization of Europe beyond the Atlantic, and conquered the islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

The discovery of America was an epoch-making event. Care should be taken, however, to view this event in its proper setting. If Columbus had not been able to achieve his goal, another explorer would have reached the shores of Central America a few years later, for such a venture was the natural outcome of careful study by Italian scholars. The work of the latter in turn was a phase of the great Renaissance movement. Scholars knew that the earth was a globe, and that by sailing west one would eventually reach India, which was believed to lie at the western shore of the Atlantic Ocean. The compass had been in use since the thirteenth century; the great seas had been charted, and their area indicated on sea maps, called *portolani;* the position of the polar star had enabled navigators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PAPAL LINE OF DEMARCATION 1527
NORTH AMERICA
NEW FOUNDLAND
AZORES (1427)
Lisbon
Palos
Cadiz
MADEIRA
CANARY IS. (1341)
ATLANTIC
VIRGINIA
FLORIDA
Vera Cruz
SALVADOR
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HISPANIOLA
S. Domingo
Spanish Trade Route
NEW SPAIN
Acapulco
DOMINICA
C. VERDE IS. (1560)
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TRINIDAD
Cartagena
NEW ANDALUSIA
QUITO
PACIFIC
OCEAN
Pernambuco
SOUTH AMERICA
Bahia
Porto Seguro
Rio de Janeiro (1518)
BRAZIL
EMPIRE
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TIERRA DEL FUEGO
Str. of Magellan
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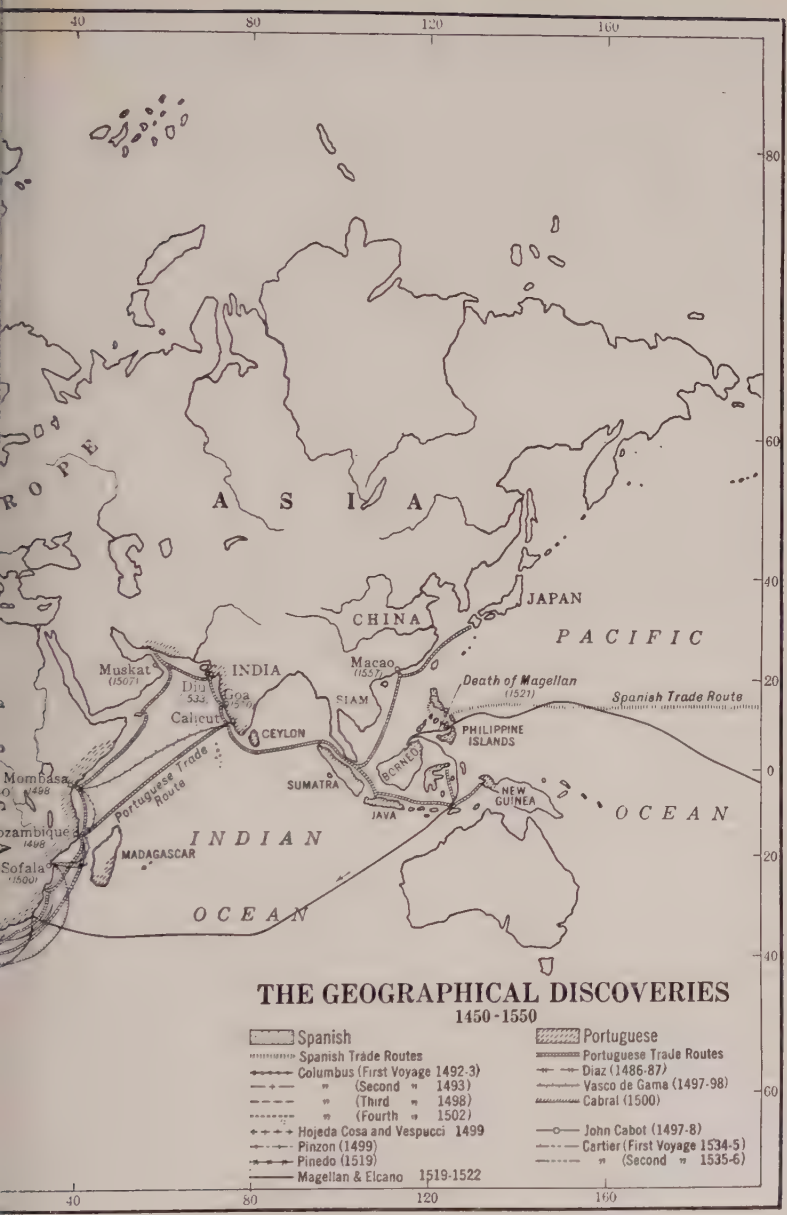
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ROPE
A S I A
CHINA
JAPAN
PACIFIC
OCEAN
INDIA
Muskat
(1507)
Diu
(1509)
Calicut
(1498)
Macao
(1557)
SIAM
Death of Magellan
(1521)
Spanish Trade Route
CEYLON
PHILIPPINE
ISLANDS
BORNEO
SUMATRA
JAVA
NEW
GUINEA
Mombasa
(1498)
Portuguese Trade Route
Sofala
(1500)
MADAGASCAR
INDIAN
OCEAN
THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES
1450-1550
Spanish
Spanish Trade Routes
Columbus (First Voyage 1492-3)
" (Second " 1493)
" (Third " 1498)
" (Fourth " 1502)
Hojeda Cosa and Vespucci 1499
Pinzon (1499)
Pinedo (1519)
Magellan & Elcano 1519-1522
Portuguese
Portuguese Trade Routes
Diaz (1486-87)
Vasco de Gama (1497-98)
Cabral (1500)
John Cabot (1497-8)
Cartier (First Voyage 1534-5)
" (Second " 1535-6)

to determine latitude by use of an instrument called the astrolabe. The voyages of Columbus, therefore, were not so momentous as some of his admirers have imagined. Columbus himself never realized what he had accomplished. In August, 1492, he sailed from the Spanish port of Palos with three small ships, each of less than a hundred tons, in search of spices and precious stones. October 12 he reached the Bahama Islands. Later he made three more trips, and saw the mainland of South and Central America, but discovered no diamonds, no spices, no gold. In 1497 another Italian navigator, named John Cabot, who had secured financial aid from Henry VII of England instead of from the monarch of Spain, reached the coast of North America somewhere near Cape Breton Island. Three years later Cabral, a Portuguese, discovered Brazil, while Balboa in 1513 daringly crossed the Isthmus of Panama, and gazed in amazement upon another ocean! However, it might have been a great lake for all he knew. Scholars believed that a few hundred miles beyond was the mainland of Asia until Magellan crossed the Pacific in 1520, and discovered what an immense ocean that body of water was which Balboa had seen. Magellan did not return to Spain himself, but in 1522 one of his ships did, thus completing the first circumnavigation of the world.

Now followed feverish attempts to exploit the countries discovered. Columbus claimed Central and South America for Spain. Cabral named Brazil a colony of Portugal, England laid claim to North America on account of Cabot's discovery, and France was soon to stake out a New France in Canada, after the voyage of Verrazano along the coast from Carolina to Labrador (1524), and the exploration of the Saint Lawrence valley by Cartier (1535). Spain laid claim to the whole of America, but Portugal wanted at least a part of the southern continent. There were also disputes about territory in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The pope decreed that all heathen lands lying three hundred and seventy leagues west

of the Cape Verde Islands should become Spanish territory and the rest Portuguese. The line which separated these territories was called the Line of Demarcation. It was established in the year 1494.[1] Portugal received eastern Brazil, the whole of Africa, and the Indies, but Spain secured nearly all of America.

It was one thing to receive America from the pope, and quite another thing actually to occupy it. But the Spaniards, undaunted by the disappointments of Columbus, pushed steadily westward. Haiti, Puerto Rico, and Cuba were settled early in the sixteenth century. Ponce de Leon, vainly searching for a fountain of youth of his dreams, explored the coast of Florida in 1513. Cortez conquered the heart of Mexico in 1519. Pizarro occupied Peru in 1531. In Mexico and Peru the Spanish discovered immense stores of gold and silver. More important was their later exploitation of the silver mines of these regions, which compensated them for the loss of India and mysterious "Cipangu." They would no doubt have occupied the whole of North America also, if it had not been for the exploits of the English, Dutch, and French.

The Portuguese fared well in their endeavors to capture the spice trade. In 1509 they gained a decisive victory over the Turks in the naval battle of Diu. A year later they seized the great city of Goa on the west coast of India, and in 1511 they captured Malacca, which is now called the Malay Peninsula. For nearly a hundred years they enjoyed a monopoly of the lucrative trade in spices, such as cloves, cinnamon, and nutmegs. They secured pepper in huge quantities and sold it at a substantial profit. Notwithstanding the restrictions by the Turks upon trade, the Portuguese imported many of the products which the merchants of Venice used to sell. Among these articles were ginger, balsam, indigo, saffron, porcelain, glass, rugs, tapestries, silks, satins, and cottons. Their control

[1] Pope Alexander VI decreed in 1493 that this line be established one hundred leagues west of the Azores. In 1494 it was changed.

of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf materially aided them in securing these luxuries, which they put up for sale in Lisbon, their capital. But Lisbon's glory did not last long. In 1580 the king of Spain conquered the whole of Portugal, and closed its ports to Dutch, English, and French merchants. Portugal's colonies, now the possessions of Spain, were greedily seized by the Dutch and English, and, although the country recovered its independence later, Portugal never regained its great empire in the East. This had passed into the hands of the Dutch, who have retained the spice islands till the present day.

The effect of the new expanding trade was far-reaching. It opened up the whole world to the merchants of Europe, greatly reduced the prices of tropical products, hastened the decline of those cities which had been important emporiums along the old medieval trade routes, and caused the rise of world ports in western Europe. The influx of silver from America enabled many Europeans to do away with barter. Money had been used in limited quantities as early as the year 1200, but after the year 1500 its use became almost universal. It resulted in the amassing of huge fortunes by shrewd individuals. Banking rapidly developed during the sixteenth century. The Italian city-states had been the first to witness the growth of great firms. They had taught other peoples the use of accounting and clearing bills. By the year 1550 German firms, like the houses of the Fuggers and Welsers at Augsburg, outgrew their Italian rivals. This superiority of the German firms may not seem so surprising if one bears in mind that before 1545 more silver was mined in Germany than in America.

The new commerce later brought vast wealth to Europe. Former luxuries now became necessities. Tea, coffee, and sugar were consumed in huge quantities. Among the new foods and drinks brought from other continents were potatoes, molasses, peanuts, corn, chocolate, sassafras, and rum. The gardens were decorated with new flowers, shrubs, and trees.

The women arrayed themselves in new cloths, such as calico, gingham, and muslin. The men took to the use of tobacco and opium. The newly rich bought up large estates and enclosed them for the use of sheep pastures, as happened on a large scale in England and Spain. Even the peasants acquired a modest share in the increasing wealth. Individual ownership of land resulted in great improvements in methods of agriculture. Emigration to America by thousands of men and women who had felt themselves unjustly oppressed made the privileged classes realize that they ought to accord a more humane treatment to the poor and needy classes. The nobles lost political power, since their services were no longer needed by the king. He greatly preferred to hire troops, for all that the soldiers demanded was money, and that was now relatively easy to get. Other changes caused by the expansion of commerce were the increase of toleration for people who were of a different race or a different religion, the stimulus to scientific research, and the disappearance of many mistaken notions regarding the earth and its inhabitants. Perhaps it is not too much to say that the expansion of Europe and the attending commercial revolution have been the greatest factors in the process of change from medieval to modern civilization in Europe.

Learning and Art

The geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were to some extent the natural outgrowth of the Renaissance. The work of Columbus was based on the labors of many Italian scholars. Portuguese and Spanish explorers also owed much to these scholars. At the same time, however, the discoveries by the former gave an impetus to the spread of learning in Italy as well as in other European countries. In other words the geographical discoveries and the Renaissance as a whole reacted favorably upon each other. When taken

in its wider sense the term Renaissance may be said to have included the geographical discoveries. There was a great revival of learning in many European countries, particularly in Germany, France, the Low Countries, and England. Hence one may speak of the Renaissance in France, the Renaissance in Germany, and so on. One may also group these movements outside of Italy together and call them the Transalpine Renaissance, or the Renaissance beyond the Alps.

Around the year 1500 it still was the custom for students of northern countries to cross the Alps in search of higher learning. Law students went to Bologna, medical students flocked to Bologna and Salerno, artists visited Florence and Venice. The most imposing palace in Europe was perhaps the Vatican in Rome, the residence of the pope, whose library was the pride of all Italy. Immense treasures were heaped up in the churches of Rome, and vast sums of money were lavished in decorating these church buildings. Even though the cities of Italy declined later, at least they deserve the credit for having passed on the torch of learning to cities beyond the Alps. During the waning of the Middle Ages the Transalpine Renaissance drew heavily on the mother Renaissance; on the labors of men like Dante, Petrarch, Michelangelo, and Leonardo da Vinci.

The great centers of learning were naturally the universities. Many of these had been founded before the year 1500. During the sixteenth century several others were added. The leading universities in England were still Oxford and Cambridge. Scotland in 1582 obtained a university of its own at Edinburgh, and Ireland in 1591 at Dublin. The University of Paris still maintained its preëminence, having an enrollment of about 6000 students, probably the largest in the world. Three new universities were founded in France during the sixteenth century, none of which has survived till the present day. More enduring were the universities of Orleans, Bordeaux, and Toulouse. Important universities in Germany were

those at Cologne, Erfurt, Leipzig, and Heidelberg. Prague, the capital of Bohemia, possessed a great university also. The only university in the Netherlands was that at Louvain, dating from the year 1425. The Portuguese had universities at Lisbon and Coimbra, the Spanish at Salamanca, Seville, Barcelona, and five other cities. Nine universities were added in Spain during the sixteenth century. It is worth noting that Salamanca had 6778 students in the year 1584, a definite proof of Spanish interest in learning.

Comparatively little progress was made in university studies. The students of Europe were taught nearly the same curriculum from one generation to another till the second half of the nineteenth century. The study of science, mathematics, history, geography, and particularly of modern languages was neglected. Greek and Latin, on the other hand, besides theology and philosophy, were studied at great length. Instruction was usually given in Latin. Hence it was possible for the University of Leyden, founded in 1574, to attract hundreds of students from England and Germany until the close of the seventeenth century. Very few of these students would have cared to learn the native language of the Dutch professors who taught there.

More advancement was made in the secondary and elementary schools. Whereas the Church had practically monopolized secondary and elementary education in the Middle Ages, the close of the fifteenth century saw the rapid gain of public schools, particularly in the Netherlands. Furthermore, a large number of schools were founded at this time which were privately endowed, but not directly controlled by the clergy. The two most famous schools of this type in England were those at Eton and Winchester.

Less widely known, but far more important, were the schools in the Netherlands and western Germany, where the Brethren of the Common Life had introduced new methods and principles. These men formed a semi-monastic organization which

was practically independent of the Church. Founded in the year 1384, their order had grown rapidly during the fifteenth century. The chief houses were those of Deventer and Zwolle in the Netherlands, and Münster in Western Germany. The brethren devoted most of their time at first to preaching and to the copying of manuscripts, but, when the invention of printing made copying less profitable, they turned to teaching. Their methods were so successful that nearly all the leading scholars of the fifteenth century and a generation after in both the Netherlands and half of Germany had either received training directly from them, or had been taught by pupils of the brotherhood. Their aim was to combine religious instruction with the curricula then in vogue. They considered the formation of a harmoniously developed mind the essence of advanced teaching. How far-reaching their influence was may be gathered from the following facts. One or two of the brethren wrote the greatest book of the time, the *Imitation of Christ,* which according to the catalogue of the British Museum has for the last five hundred years been next to the Bible the most widely read book in the world. For a period of twelve years Erasmus, the intellectual king of Europe and prince of the humanists, was educated in two of their schools and dormitories. Alexander Hegius, the greatest teacher in Europe at the end of the fifteenth century, taught the principles of the "New Devotion" at Deventer, which was the chief center of the movement. His school counted 2200 pupils, while Eton, much more famous in history, had at the most 150, and the most famous school in Italy, a paltry 70.

Several hundred secondary schools were founded or reformed by members and pupils of the brotherhood. Luther attended their school at Magdeburg for a year, while Calvin spent four years in the *Collège de Montaigu* in Paris, founded by Standonck, a pupil of the brotherhood. Another pupil was Cardinal Cusa, the famous philosopher and mathematician; Pope Adrian VI, the tutor of Emperor Charles V, and thousands

of others had been connected with the schools and dormitories founded by members and pupils of the brotherhood.

One group of scholars who did a great deal for the cause of learning in the fifteenth century, but whose influence rapidly waned in the following century, was that of the humanists. The leading scholars in Italy had been humanists. Among their followers in other countries were Erasmus, Colet, Lefèvre, and Zwingli. They were called humanists, and their teachings humanism, because they stressed what contemporaries called *humanitas,* or humanity, something neglected and even despised by the medieval scribes. This *humanitas* had been appreciated and explained by the great Petrarch, whom one might well call the father of humanism. In contrast with the monks of medieval Europe, who had almost completely controlled the cause of learning, Petrarch taught that man had a perfect right to enjoy himself in this world, that human nature was not fundamentally bad, that human beings have great innate power and for this reason need not be so self-depreciating; and finally, that the civilization of ancient Greece and Rome though pagan, was greatly worth studying. The humanists therefore, exalted human nature; they were less interested in pure theology. They were opposed to asceticism, which is a system of thought directed toward the suppression of physical enjoyment. The ascetic loathes human nature and believes that the flesh is the ally of the devil. The humanist entertains a very different opinion concerning human nature.

Some humanists succeeded in combining the teachings of Petrarch with the doctrines taught by Jesus, Paul, and the Church Fathers. They continued to adhere implicitly to the tenets of New Testament Christianity, but at the same time drifted away from medieval asceticism. These scholars are frequently called "Christian humanists" and their teaching "Biblical humanism." Greatest of all these humanists was Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1469–1536).

Erasmus was probably born in the year 1469, the illegiti

mate son of a priest. He received a good education from the Brethren of the Common Life in Deventer, and at the age of twenty he entered an Augustinian monastery. The monastic life, however, did not suit him at all. He succeeded in freeing himself from monastic discipline and in 1495 went to Paris, where he continued the study of the classics. From 1499 to 1509 he traveled in various countries, but principally in England. Here he was greatly influenced by Colet, who turned his attention to practical religion. In 1503 appeared his *Handbook of the Christian Knight,* which proclaimed his new interest in personal, active religion; the religion of the inner man, not that of mere formalism. His *Praise of Folly* (1511) made him the most famous writer in Europe. In this amusing book he ridiculed, though in a friendly way, the follies of mankind, and emphasized particularly the superstitions of his time. His witty style and his superior learning won for him the title of prince of the humanists. His influence in the realm of pure education was simply incalculable. He was easily the most learned man in all Europe. No scholar had ever been so highly revered by monarchs and princes as he. Like the people among whom he was born, he was cosmopolitan. Although a Hollander by birth, he spent many years in England, Italy, and France; and died in Switzerland, the country which for many years he liked best.

The spread of learning, so persistently advocated by Erasmus, received a tremendous impetus from the invention of printing. This invention dated back to the year 1450. Most of the credit belongs to Gutenberg of Mainz, but again one must be extremely careful not to ignore the achievements of those patient workers whose names are seldom mentioned in books and newspapers, but whose endeavors were indispensable to human progress. Without the labors of those modest and retiring souls no Columbus and no Gutenberg could ever have risen to fame. Printing had flourished in China for many centuries before Gutenberg perfected the movable type. From

China some knowledge of printing had spread by way of the Near East to central Europe. In the Netherlands also a primitive sort of printing had been in vogue before 1450. Gutenberg, however, made possible a vastly greater production with a considerable saving of time. In Germany alone about a million volumes were printed each year throughout the sixteenth century. The demand for books increased as prices went down. Another advantage resulting from the invention of printing was the greater degree of accuracy assured by the new process. In medieval times it had been exceedingly difficult to find two copies of any book which were exactly alike. The invention of printing was no doubt the most important and possibly the most beneficial of all inventions and discoveries.

Worth noting also is the increased interest shown during the sixteenth century in science. Whereas during the whole of the medieval period the students at the universities acquired nearly all their information from a few works by Aristotle, and used only the deductive method of reasoning, the period of transition from medieval to modern civilization ushered in a combination of both the inductive and the deductive methods, while scholars studied nature itself instead of relying on the observations of men who had lived two thousand years ago. Many improvements were also made in the study of algebra, particularly through the introduction of decimals. Other improvements consisted in the use of + and — for plus and minus, which took the place of the letters p. and m. Scholars had been accustomed to write 4ce. p. 6co. m. 3cu. p. 8ce. ce. ce. m. 2ce. ce for $4x^2 + 6x - 3x^3 + 8x^8 - 2x^4$! The study of physics benefited greatly from the investigations by Leonardo da Vinci, while Copernicus, a Pole, proved that the earth and the planets move around the sun. Very few of his contemporaries, however, were enlightened enough to accept this theory. As late as the seventeenth century, Galileo, in order to escape torture, called it an error, but, before he retracted, he

had taught the new doctrine to thousands of students in the University of Padua. Another scientist who popularized the theory of Copernicus was Giordano Bruno, while Kepler, a German scholar, not only supported the theory, but formulated several other new laws of astronomy. Upon the whole, however, the study of the various sciences received comparatively little attention during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Far more significant during that period was the interest displayed in art. Here was a field where both Roman Catholics and Protestants could freely exercise their talents. Profiting by the work of the humanists, the leading artists of the sixteenth century used for models the contributions of the ancient Greeks and Romans as well as those of medieval painters, sculptors, and architects. The largest of all modern churches is that of St. Peter, constructed in Rome during the sixteenth century, not on the strictly medieval Gothic models, but more like the early Christian churches of the Roman Empire. The Louvre palace in Paris, dating from the middle of this century, is another striking example of the new architecture. Great changes occurred also in the methods of the great painters. Whereas the medieval artists had usually depicted their scenes upon the walls of buildings, the school of the sixteenth century not only painted frescoes, but added hundreds of easel paintings. Michelangelo, who lived till 1564, was but one of the many Italian leaders. Titian died as late as the year 1576; one of his best known pictures is that of the Council of Trent. Greatest among the German painters were Dürer and Holbein. Flemish and Dutch painting, however, did not reach its zenith till the seventeenth century. The greatest works of art produced in France, Spain, and England, were also of a later origin, but in all these countries the source of inspiration was the Italian school which flourished during the passing of the Middle Ages.

Political Conditions

One peculiar feature of medieval civilization in Europe was the defensive and passive attitude adopted by Europeans toward the peoples of Asia and Africa. From the time of Alexander the Great, who conquered the Near East by the year 325 B. C., till the decline of the Roman Empire in the fourth century A. D., the Greeks and Romans had maintained European supremacy in the whole Mediterranean area. Since the year 1500 the peoples of Europe have even gone beyond the Mediterranean. But during the Middle Ages they not only failed to extend their power over territories in Africa and Asia, but were unable to keep invaders out of Europe. First came the Huns, Goths, Vandals, and other barbarians from eastern Europe and Asia, then the Moors from Africa, and finally the Turks from Asia Minor. The first group of invaders were never pushed back into their native lands, but had to be absorbed. The Moors were driven from France in the eighth century, and lost their stronghold in Spain in the year 1492, but not all of them were expelled from Spain. The Turks, on the other hand, were expanding their empire in Europe when the Moors lost Granada in Spain.

About the middle of the fourteenth century the first Turkish invaders crossed the straits from Asia Minor to the Balkan Peninsula near Constantinople. Gradually their numbers were swelled by successive waves of settlers, until in 1453 Constantinople itself was captured. Not content with that, the Turks spread over the whole peninsula, entered Hungary, and finally stood before the gates of Vienna (1529).

On the Iberian Peninsula, the natives, in their struggle for freedom against the Mohammedans, formed several Christian states, of which Portugal remained an independent kingdom till 1580. Most of the other states were united through the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile

EUROPE
IN 1500
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400
Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire
60
50
40
20
10
0
10
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
MEDITERRANEAN
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES
Bergen
Christiania
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
IRELAND
Dublin
WALES
ENGLAND
London
Antwerp
Calais
DENMARK
Copenhagen
SCHLESWIG
HOLSTEIN
Hamburg
Bremen
Lübeck
BRANDENBURG
NETHERLANDS
HESSE
Cologne
SAXONY
LUXEMBURG
PALATINATE
Trier
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Seine
Paris
Strassburg
Loire
Rhine
BAVARIA
Munich
FRANCHE COMTÉ
SWISS CONFEDERATION
TYROL
GRISONS
SAVOY
MILAN
Milan
Venice
Turin
Bordeaux
Garonne
Rhone
Avignon
GENOA
FERRARA
ROMAGNA
FLORENCE
PAPAL STATES
TUSCANY
CORSICA
Rome
Naples
SARDINIA
Cagliari
Palermo
SICILY
PORTUGAL
CASTILE
Oporto
Valladolid
NAVARRE
Douro
Ebro
ARAGON
Lisbon
Tagus
Madrid
Barcelona
Guadiana
Guadalquivir
Valencia
BALEARIC IS.
Granada
GRANADA
Tangier
FEZ
ALGERIA
TUNIS
MALTA
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO. N.Y.

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White Sea
G. of Bothnia
FINLAND
SWEDEN
L. Onega
Dwina
L. Ladoga
MUSCOVY
Abo
Helsingfors
Kazan
Stockholm
ESTHONIA
Novgorod
Volga
BALTIC SEA
TEUTONIC
Moscow
KAZAN
Riga
COURLAND
Oka
Smolensk
ASTRAKHAN
ORDER
PRUSSIA
Niemen
LITHUANIA
Don
Volga
Vistula
Warsaw
Kiev
POLAND
Donetz
Dnieper
CRIMEA
Dniester
Bug
Vienna
Buda Pest
Pruth
Kuban
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
BLACK SEA
Drave
Save
Theiss
WALLACHIA
Danube
Constantinople
Trebizond
BOSNIA
Scutari
OTTOMAN
RAGUSA
MONTE-NEGRO
Cattaro
Brussa
EMPIRE
Tigris
SEA
AEGEAN
Smyrna
IONIAN IS. (Venice)
Athens
SEA
Euphrates
RHODES
SYRIA
CYPRUS (Venice)
CRETE (Venice)
SEA

who in 1492 conquered the kingdom of Granada, the last stronghold of the Moors in Spain. In the extreme north of the peninsula a small region, named the kingdom of Navarre, remained independent. Ferdinand and Isabella had a daughter by the name of Joanna, who married Philip of Habsburg, the son of Emperor Maximilian, and Mary, the ruler of the Burgundian possessions in the Low Countries, or Netherlands. In the year 1500 their son Charles was born in the city of Ghent, one of the great Flemish hives of industry. This prince was to become the heir to the greatest empire the world had yet seen, for he would inherit not only the European possessions of his parents and grandparents, but also the territory in America and the Indies claimed by Spanish explorers for the Spanish crown. Among his future titles would be that of Prince of the Netherlands and Emperor.

The Holy Roman Empire was one of the most peculiar states in all Europe. Its origins lie in the tenth century, when the imperial dignity was revived by the pope, who conferred it upon Otto the Saxon, called Otto the Great. Otto is said to have created the Holy Roman Empire, but the name was adopted later. The new empire was named holy because its emperor had been crowned by the head of the Christian Church, and, in distinction from the Roman Empire, it was Christian, not pagan. The name Roman was less appropriate, for, between the downfall of the Roman Empire and the creation of the present one, there lay a gap of five centuries. Again, the area and position of the empires differed widely, and, whereas Rome had been the capital of the former empire, Rome was not even included in the latter. The term German Empire would no doubt have been more fitting, although it should be remembered that among the districts included in this empire were Bohemia, the Netherlands with the exception of the extreme western portion, part of eastern France, the Tyrol, Styria, and Austria. Switzerland had secured a

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certain degree of independence, and was now a confederation of little republics, called cantons, which by the year 1648 were to receive complete independence.

The principle of nationality was never fully developed in the Holy Roman Empire; within the German states there seemed to be little desire to establish a great nation with a strong central government, such as was being formed in England, France, Spain, and Portugal. Austria was an archduchy, Bavaria and Saxony were duchies, Brandenburg was a margravate, while scattered throughout the empire were numerous little principalities and free cities, so that all in all there were more than three hundred states which had been grouped together and called the Germanies. The German princes and the proud cities were the chief obstacles to unification. The empire had no army, no treasury, no supreme court, and no capital. The emperor's power was not hereditary, although it had become customary for the "electors" to choose the new emperor from the Habsburg line, because the princes of this house had grown powerful, wherefore they could better than any other house protect the empire from attacks by Slavs and Turks. There were seven electors, namely the archbishops of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the count palatine of the Rhine. The central government was made up of the emperor, the seven electors, the lesser princes, and representatives of the free cities. The emperor had executive powers, while the other members formed the legislative branch, called the Diet. Because of the selfish policy of the princes, the power of the Diet and the emperor was very limited. Small wonder that Germany shared the same fate as Italy, for it was not until the nineteenth century, after the extinction of the Holy Roman Empire, that this country became a unified state.

In Italy there were five great independent city-states. These were Venice, Genoa, Milan, Florence, and Naples. Venice was a republic with an oligarchic form of government, while

Genoa did not have a stable government at all. Milan and Florence were ruled by one or two leading familes. Naples was a kingdom and so was the island of Sicily; these two kingdoms were later called the two Sicilies. Rome with a strip of territory across the Peninsula from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic was controlled by the papacy, wherefore this region was called the Papal States. In the year 1504 both Naples and Sicily became dependencies of Spain. In a political sense, therefore, the Italian peninsula had little power.

Far different were conditions in France, where for a long time a line of powerful kings had consolidated the royal domain, and through conquest and marriage had so greatly extended it that king Louis XII (1498–1515) ruled over all the territory stretching from West Flanders to the Pyrenees, and from the Atlantic and the English Channel to Lorraine, Franche Comté, and Savoy. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the king, supported by the burghers in the rapidly growing cities and some of the lesser nobles, had weakened the most powerful princes. Gradually the provincial estates and the courts of the great nobles had lost much of their jurisdiction. In the year 1302 Philip IV had convoked an Estates-General, in which sat representatives of the clergy, the nobility, and the commons, or middle class; but the Estates-General, unlike the English parliament, had never become a serious menace to the king. The French people were content with a highly centralized government; they were strongly in favor of a powerful monarch, who would be able to keep out invaders and limit the power of the nobility; and thus enable the burghers and the peasants to maintain a high level of prosperity and a modest degree of liberty.

In England, on the other hand, the contest between king and barons had resulted in the Magna Carta of the year 1215, in which the feudal lords wrested from their monarch written promises of liberty and justice for themselves, but not for the middle and lower classes. The middle class or commons in

England had little power in those days. Commerce, industry, and agriculture were not nearly so highly developed here as in France. Consequently the English king faced a more powerful enemy than he could subdue. None of King John's successors were ever able wholly to undo the work of those barons. The nobles grew stronger and stronger until 1485, when the Tudor line of kings secured the throne. Henry VII (1485–1509), taking advantage of the weakness caused by a civil war between two factions of nobles, strengthened his own position, so that during his whole reign he ruled with the hand of an absolute monarch.

The branch of the English government which corresponded to the Estates-General in France was Parliament. This institution originated in the thirteenth century, and consisted at first of three separate estates, like the Estates-General. In the fourteenth century, however, the lower clergy dropped out and the higher clergy combined with the nobility to form what was called the House of Lords. The members of this upper house were styled Lords Spiritual and Lords Temporal, the term referring respectively to the higher clergy and the nobility. The third estate was named House of Commons, for in this body the commons, or middle class, were represented. In the fifteenth century the English Parliament exerted considerable power, but, after Henry VII ascended the throne, he was able to get along so well without Parliament that he called it but five times during the whole of his reign.

England, France, the Holy Roman Empire, Spain, and Portugal were the leading European states at the opening of the sixteenth century. Of the small Italian states, Venice had ranked among the great powers, but she was soon to lose her prestige and power. The Netherlands were exceedingly wealthy, but as yet formed no independent state. The commonwealth of Switzerland and the kingdom of Hungary were of little importance, while all the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula were at the mercy of the Ottoman Turks, and were to

remain submerged for three centuries. The other European states were Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, all ruled by the king of Denmark; Poland and Lithuania, both governed by the king of Poland; the tsardom of Muscovy in the center of what is now Russia; and finally, a district east of the Baltic Sea, south of Finland, which belonged to the Teutonic order, a group of knights whose predecessors had rendered valuable services during the Crusades, and had received this territory as a reward for these services. Included in the district was East Prussia.

None of the countries in northern and eastern Europe seemed destined at the time to play an important rôle in European politics. They were regarded by many people as somewhat beyond the pale of civilization. The inhabitants of the three Scandinavian countries were of Teutonic stock, brave and warlike. They had produced the fierce vikings, whose exploits had terrorized all Europe. In the year 1500, however, they were much more peaceful, and this was no doubt one of the reasons why they were attracting comparatively little attention. Sweden was about to secure an independent government with a king of its own. The countries across the Baltic, however, were insignificant. This was particularly true of Poland, where many forces of disintegration were constantly weakening the monarchy. Russia was still in the clutches of an age-long lethargy, and could not yet develop into a nation of great importance.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Life in the Country

M. Fordham, *A Short History of English Rural Life*. A brief survey written in a simple manner. Read chapters III–VII.

N. S. B. Gras, *A History of Agriculture*, chapters IV–V.

R. E. Prothero, *English Farming Past and Present.* A scholarly work. Read chapter IV.

R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century.*

W. J. Ashley, *English Economic History,* chapter I.

E. P. Cheyney, *An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England,* chapters II–VI.

F. A. Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe,* chapter II.

A. Jessup, *The Coming of the Friars,* chapter II. Tells about conditions in an English village six hundred years ago. Very interesting and instructive.

Ch. Seignobos, *The Feudal Régime* (translated by E. W. Dow). Describes feudal conditions in France.

J. Mavor, *An Economic History of Russia,* 2 vols. The third chapter of vol. I presents an admirable treatment of social conditions in medieval Russia.

E. B. Bax, *German Society at the Close of the Middle Ages.* Rural conditions are depicted in chapter VII.

J. W. Thompson, *An Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages.* This book, which was published in 1928, contains much material which has been difficult of access to English readers.

Towns Old And New

C. Day, *A History of Commerce.* The best brief history in English. Read chapter VI.

W. J. Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory,* vol. II. This volume contains one of the best treatments of urban life in England during the sixteenth century.

E. P. Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England,* chapter III.

A. P. Usher, *Industrial History of England,* chapters VI–VII. Gives an excellent description of English industry in the sixteenth century.

Mrs. J. R. Green, *Town Life in England in the Fifteenth Century.* Scholarly, well written, comprehensive.

G. Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London.* Read the chapter entitled "The Place of the Gild in the History of Western Europe."

L. Thorndike, *The History of Medieval Europe,* chapters XVII–XIX.

O. J. Thatcher and E. H. McNeal, *Europe in the Middle Ages,* chapters XXIV.

J. W. Thompson, *An Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages.*

Beginnings of European Expansion

E. P. Cheyney, *European Background of American History,* chapters II–IV. A standard work, attractive and interesting.

W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe,* vol. I, chapter III.

H. C. Morris, *History of Colonization,* vol. I.

C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography.* All of the three scholarly volumes deal with the period before 1490.

J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States,* chapters I–II. A condensed treatment of the more important events.

H. C. Hockett and A. M. Schlesinger, *A Political and Social History of the United States,* vol. I, chapter I.

R. V. Harlow, *The Growth of the United States,* chapter I.

E. Channing, *A History of the United States,* vol. I. More comprehensive than the accounts in the three preceding textbooks.

J. Fiske, *Colonization of the New World.*

H. E. Bolton and T. M. Marshall, *The Colonization of North America, 1492–1783.*

E. C. Bourne, *Spain in America.*

W. R. Shepherd, *Latin America,* chapters I–VI.

W. W. Hunter, *A History of British India.*

K. G. Jayne, *Vasco da Gama and his Successors,* 1460–1580.

H. M. Stephens, *Albuquerque and the Portuguese Settlements in India.*

H. Johnston, *History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races.*

W. Cunningham, *An Essay on Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects,* vol. II, book V, chapter II (pp. 162–224). This admirable work depicts the results of the geographical discoveries.

E. P. Cheyney, *Social Changes in England in the Sixteenth Century.*

J. E. Gillespie, *The Influence of Overseas Expansion on England to 1700.*

Learning And Art

J. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy;* translated from the German by S. G. C. Middlemore. This volume is the best brief account in English. The translation is excellent, the style stimulating, the content comprehensive, thorough, and reliable.

J. D. Symon and S. L. Bensusan, *The Renaissance and its Makers.*

E. M. Hulme, *The Renaissance, The Protestant Revolution and the Catholic Reformation.*

J. A. Symonds, *A Short History of the Renaissance.* This is an abridged edition of the larger work, of seven volumes, entitled, *The Renaissance in Italy.* The style is rather heavy, but inspiring nevertheless.

H. O. Taylor, *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century.* Two useful chapters are those dealing respectively with the Renaissance in Germany and French thought before Calvin.

W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe,* chapters I, II, VII.

F. Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformer.* Contains much useful information concerning English scholars.

P. Van Dyke, *The Age of the Renascence.*

E. J. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship.*

F. P. Graves, *History of Education*, pp. 106–139.

F. Paulsen, *German Education*, chapter II.

M. Whitcomb, *Source Book of the German Renaissance.* Contains, among others, some extracts from the *Letters of Obscure Men* and the *Colloquies of Erasmus.*

F. S. Stokes, *The Letters of Obscure Men.* Contains both the Latin and English versions; also a historical introduction, in which the editor expresses an altogether too favorable view of the motives which impelled Hutten and his friends to write their bitter satires.

A. Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance.* This work presents the history of the Brethren of the Common Life and an exposition of the authorship of the *Imitation of Christ.*

D. F. Strauss, *Ulrich von Hutten.* Contains much information concerning humanism in Germany.

E. Emerton, *Desiderius Erasmus.* Attractive and stimulating.

P. S. Allen, *The Age of Erasmus.* Not a real biography, but a series of sketches.

P. Smith, *Erasmus.* The best account in English.

J. Jansen, *History of the German People*, vol. I, pp. 61–86. A very trustworthy account by a great Catholic scholar. Translated from the German by M. A. Mitchell and A. M. Christie.

A. Tilley, *The Dawn of the French Renaissance.*

T. L. Vinne, *The Invention of Printing.*

G. Vasari, *Lives of Famous Painters, Sculptors, and Architects.*

S. Reinach, *Apollo, a Manual of the History of Art.*

A. Marquand and A. L. Frothingham, *Text Book of the History of Sculpture*, chapters XVIII–XXIII.

G. Scott, *The Architecture of Humanism.*

F. T. Kugler, *The German, Flemish, and Dutch Schools of Painting.*

W. S. Pratt, *The History of Music.*

Political Conditions

A. H. Johnson, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century.* This book is very largely devoted to the political history of Europe in the sixteenth century. Read chapters I–II.

C. J. H. Hayes, *Europe,* vol. I, chapter I. This chapter makes excellent supplementary reading.

F. Schevill, *History of the Balkan Peninsula,* chapters XII–XVIII.

E. R. Turner, *Europe,* 1450-1789, chapter III.

M. A. S. Hume, *Spain,* 1479–1788, chapter I.

R. B. Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire,* vol. II, chapter XV.

H. M. Stephens, *Portugal.*

J. Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire.*

G. B. Adams, *The Growth of the French Nation,* chapters VIII–X.

A. L. Cross, *A Shorter History of England and Greater Britain,* chapter XVIII.

R. N. Bain, *Slavonic Europe,* chapters I–IV.

CHAPTER II

THE REFORMATION

Ever since the close of the Middle Ages the term "Reformation" has been applied to the attempt on the part of various reformers to improve conditions in the Church. Some of these reformers, like Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, finally broke with the Church, though even they at first desired to effect a reformation within the Church, exactly as did the Puritans later in England. The reform movement contemplated by Luther was expected to take the form of a return to the primitive Christian Church, which flourished in Rome and the Near East till the fall of the Roman Empire. That this movement became a veritable revolution was not so much the result of a revolutionary attitude on the part of Luther and his followers as of a combination of forces unforeseen and uncontrollable by Luther. He himself considered the movement a reformation, a return to past institutions and customs rather than a breaking with the past. He had much in common with such reformers as Erasmus, Lefèvre, and Loyola, who remained within the Church, but were anxious to reform existing abuses. The movement inaugurated by the latter type of men is usually referred to as the Catholic Reformation, while the other may be termed the Protestant Reformation. In the present narrative both movements will at times be grouped under the title of the "Reformation."

The Church and Religion

The Roman Catholic Church was by far the mightiest institution of the Middle Ages. Not only did it aim to control

the spiritual destiny of every man, woman, and child in central and western Europe, but through the operation of its courts, its seven sacraments, and the exercise of its enormous temporal power, it surpassed the national and feudal governments in wealth and social prestige. Shortly after the fall of the Roman Empire, when most European countries were being ravaged by hordes of barbarians, the Church had held out its hand of peace and order to millions of distracted Christians. It was the Church which restored order in Italy. It had assisted Charlemagne in building up his great empire. Its monasteries had preserved precious books, among others the Bible, and the works of Aristotle and the Church Fathers. Its schools in almost all localities had been the only centers of learning. Thus it had richly deserved the privileges it enjoyed during the first five centuries of the Middle Ages.

Gradually the Church had grown exceedingly wealthy. Many a nobleman upon his death-bed had bequeathed part or all of his possessions to the Church. Not a few princes and rich nobles had deemed it expedient for the welfare of their souls to enter the ranks of the monastic orders. The monks had also found other ways of enriching the Church. They had secured immense tracts of land which had appeared of little value to the ignorant laymen, but which yielded bountiful crops, when once the swamps had been drained and the forests cleared. Around Rome the Papal States had grown up, controlled directly by the Pope. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the papacy had carried on a terrific contest for temporal supremacy with no lesser men than the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, who in theory held all the countries of western and central Europe as their fiefs.

At the close of the thirteenth century, however, the power of the papacy began to wane. Most humiliating for the popes was the so-called Babylonian Captivity (1309–1377) at Avignon, in France, where they were dominated by the French king. Equally distressing was the great schism (1378–1418),

when there were two popes, one in Rome and one in Avignon. Then followed a period of twenty years in which the power of the papacy within the Church was contested by church councils, notably the Council of Basel (1431–1443); but at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1442), the pope was able to reassert successfully the claims of his greatest predecessors. His temporal power, however, continued to decline, particularly in France and England. Even in the Holy Roman Empire, where no great monarch stood ready to defend the national interests of the people, there was much discontent, and signs were not lacking that here too the pope could no longer strike terror into the hearts of princes as had been the case in former days. In Russia and the Balkan Peninsula his authority had entirely disappeared since the middle of the eleventh century, because of differences in doctrine and church rites between the leaders in Rome and Constantinople. Europe had no longer one great Catholic Church, but two distinct branches, one called the Roman Catholic, the other the Greek, or Orthodox Catholic Church.

Nevertheless, at the opening of the sixteenth century the pope was still a very powerful person. He continued to issue the papal bulls, or decrees, which as a rule could not be declared null and void by any government. A great collection of earlier decrees, both by popes and church councils, formed the basis of his control over all members of the clergy. This collection is called Canon Law. The pope still claimed to be the chief arbiter, by whom disputes between nations as well as individuals could be settled. Like other monarchs, he sent out his ambassadors, named legates, to various royal courts. He alone could crown the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. More than that, he could absolve anybody from obedience to laws which he declared unjust, thus placing himself above all temporal powers. To defray the expenses of his own court, he levied a tax upon every family, called Peter's Pence. He also expected contributions from members of the higher clergy,

and commanded the recipients of benefices to turn over to him the whole or part of the income they received from their benefices during the first year. This tax was called the Annates.

The pope with the other members of the clergy formed the hierarchy, or government of the Church. The word *pope* means father, and it had been applied for several centuries to the bishop of Rome, because he had become the most important of all the bishops in the Church. He was elected for life by the cardinals, who in turn had been chosen by former popes. Other important officials in the Church were the archbishops, or chief bishops, and next to these the bishops. A bishop was in charge of a bishopric, or diocese, where as a rule several churches were located, each forming a parish, which might either comprise a village or a section of a city. The bishop usually lived in a city where a cathedral was located, while the priest labored in the parish, which had a smaller church. All these members of the clergy were called secular clergy, because they lived and worked in the world, which was called *seculum* in medieval Latin. They differed from the monks and nuns, who had at first withdrawn themselves from worldly affairs. The monks were now named regular clergy, for they followed a certain *regula,* or monastic rule of life. Some of them lived in monasteries, others had no homes of their own. To the former class belonged the Benedictines, to the latter the mendicant or begging monks. The two most famous orders of mendicant monks were the Franciscans and the Dominicans, who were often called friars.

In the Middle Ages the Church was a much more influential institution than it is today. In the year 1500 every child in western Europe was born into the Church. As it grew up it was supposed to become a full-fledged church member just as naturally as in our time one becomes a citizen of one's native country. Nobody dreamed of leaving the Church any more

than a normal person today would think of ceasing to be a citizen of his country, unless he left that country. An Englishman could only leave the Roman Catholic Church in the year 1500 by going to Moscow, for example, and becoming a convert to the Greek or Orthodox Catholic religion. But, even though he might question the doctrines of the Church, and call the pope a devil in disguise, the idea would never enter his head that he would secede from the Church.

One reason why the Roman Catholic Church had become such a powerful institution was because almost every person believed that outside of the Church nobody could be saved. For every individual in the Middle Ages the burning issue of his whole life was understood to be the possible salvation of his soul from eternal damnation. The only mediation between man and God was the Church. Such was the belief of the vast majority of people. Life on earth was comparatively short, and eternity had no end. Terrible was the prospect of the trembling sinner, if the Church should fail to save him. Hence the influence of the clergy and the importance of the seven sacraments.

Baptism was the sacrament which cleansed the child from original sin. It was administered to all human beings, since they were all believed to have inherited this form of sin from their parents. Original sin could be traced back to the fall of man in Paradise, and it made every child subject to eternal damnation. Hence the anxiety of parents to have their children baptized as soon as possible. Another sacrament which was administered to everybody was that of confirmation. When boys and girls reached the age of discretion the bishop would welcome them into the fold of the church, assuring them that the Holy Ghost would strengthen them. The sacrament of penance was instituted as a means of obtaining forgiveness of sins committed by people after baptism. It was necessary for the sinner to feel penitent, to confess his sins openly to

the priest, and to resolve never if possible to commit them again; whereupon the priest would pronounce absolution and impose a certain penalty, such as giving alms, or making a pilgrimage. This penalty was intended merely to remove temporal guilt. Absolution freed the sinner from eternal punishment. Purgatory was a state after death where one could make further amends for his wickedness, and be purified until he would become fit to enter heaven.

The sacrament of penance naturally resulted in heated controversies throughout the Middle Ages. Long before the coming of Martin Luther priests and professors discussed the process of forgiveness and sanctification. They had agreed that the atonement of Jesus the Christ sufficed for all human beings. All that a priest could do was to hear confessions and to state that in his opinion the sins were forgiven. Many priests had gone too far in assuming that they themselves could remove the guilt. But the Church did not teach officially that such was their power. It was in fact extremely difficult to tell just what the Church did teach officially. Its doctrines were not officially promulgated till the meetings of the Council of Trent in the middle of the sixteenth century.

Intimately connected with the sacrament of penance was the eucharist, or Holy Supper. In this sacrament the bread and wine were believed to be transformed into the flesh and blood of Jesus, the process of transformation being called transubstantiation. Christ was said to offer himself anew whenever this sacrament was administered. With the greatest reverence therefore the priest touched the mysterious elements, while the people, with strange emotions, would partake of the bread.[1] During the mass the priest and his assistants were robed in gorgeous vestments, the altar was decorated with beautiful flowers and handsome candles, and incense was freely employed to stir the feelings of the communicants. When one attended mass in one of the great cathedrals, the effect of

[1] The cup was denied them.

the service would be heightened by the awesome peals from the magnificent pipe organ, the mystic chants of the choir, and the colored rays of light streaming through the stained glass of the rose windows. Few obdurate sinners could leave such a service unmoved!

Another sacrament intended for every member of the church was that of extreme unction, or the last anointment. This was administered by a priest when a person seemed at the point of death. It would strengthen the soul of the dying sinner. The sacrament of matrimony rendered the ties between husband and wife sacred. Finally, by the sacrament of holy orders, or ordination, members of the clergy were ordained and were given more than human power to perform their sacred tasks.

There was much divergence of opinion concerning the efficacy of the seven sacraments. The Church as an institution had undergone many changes. Its creeds and its sacraments naturally had been subject to a great deal of criticism. Within the ranks of the hierarchy there had been intense rivalry. Church councils had sought to limit the power of the pope, and even some of the greatest cardinals had openly questioned several doctrines taught by the popes and their followers. Heretics had risen in various countries, some of whom had been put to death, while others had merely been silenced or persuaded to modify their criticism. Abuses had crept into the institution as a whole. National governments had begun to restrict the power of the papacy. Finally, a number of mystics had sought to secure salvation without the aid of the clergy. The whole structure of the Church seemed to totter as the fifteenth century drew to a close. Fifty years later it was felt by thousands of observers that it would actually crumble to pieces. But since that time the Roman Catholic Church has recuperated to a remarkable degree. We shall now see how this great organization lived through the ordeal which is commonly called the Reformation.

Causes of the Reformation

In the first place, the papacy had been attacked by emperors, kings, church councils, scholars, and mystics. Although the papacy had won the contest waged with the great church councils of the fifteenth century, there were still a large number of influential men who believed that a council should be supreme in the Roman Catholic world. In secular affairs the papacy actually had lost much power. Whereas in former days a pope could dethrone a king of England and return the country to this king as a fief of the papacy (1215); whereas a pope could absolve a whole people from allegiance to emperor or king, tax the clergy in France, control powerful ecclesiastical courts in England, and appoint bishops to offices which entailed great feudal holdings of real estate,—the rulers of France, England, and several other countries were now steadily limiting the papal power. Governments of the rising national states began to tax the clergy, reduce the power of ecclesiastical courts, and forbid the publication of papal decrees in their respective countries and the appeal from their courts to the Curia in Rome, unless they had previously granted their consent.

The attacks on the papal power by humanists had also been far-reaching. The Emperor Constantine, who lived in the fourth century, and who had moved his capital from Italy to Constantinople, was supposed to have presented the bishop of Rome with the western half of his empire, in return for the assistance rendered by the bishop in saving his life. Lorenzo Valla had proved that this "Donation of Constantine" was simply a forged document. Valla and many other Italian scholars further hurt the papal cause by instilling into the minds of their numerous followers an attitude of skepticism and disrespect for authority. A great number of humanists made light of monastic discipline and the efficacy of the sacraments. They belittled the value of the soul and the importance of life after

physical death, and consequently taught that people were foolish to be so intent on the salvation of the soul. They were opposed to asceticism, and some of them were even inclined favorably toward paganism. Not all of their views and deeds led up to the Reformation, but they certainly helped to prepare the way for several phases of this movement.

The humanists were supported in their attacks on the power of the Church as an institution by many theologians and mystics who believed that the Church had become too materialistic, and that there was in the Church too much empty formalism and too little emphasis laid on personal piety. The mystics, in particular, strove to warn their pupils against the reliance on what they called "outward deeds," as contrasted with inner faith, feelings, and emotions. Books like the "Imitation of Christ" emphasized the need of love and faith rather than "works." The mystics tended to weaken the power of the clergy by laying stress on the relation between the individual soul and God, in which relation the sacraments play a comparatively insignificant part. The influence exerted by the mystics is very difficult to measure, but it was great.

Almost all classes of people agreed that the Church needed a reformation. Conservative minds would be content with a a small number of changes; radical thinkers naturally wanted more. Some were interested chiefly in political and financial issues, while others were almost solely concerned with spiritual problems. There was scarcely a thinking person to be found anywhere in Europe at the end of the Middle Ages who felt that the Church was a perfect institution.

Some of the abuses which in the opinion of every honest reformer needed correction were simony and nepotism. Simony is the sale of church offices, while nepotism is the equivalent of favoritism, the giving of offices to relatives and friends. Both abuses were widespread at the time, and they were openly practised by the higher clergy in Rome and elsewhere. The papacy itself was in need of reform. For at least a century the

popes had not been the type of men who could be considered proper representatives of Christ on earth. They were all subject to criticism, for they did not try to be spiritual guides for the people. One pope would lead an army to battle, another would spend most of his time in studying art and literature, while still another would do little more than indulge in selfish pleasures. To many people it seemed that Rome was about the last place where one should look for the center of Christianity.

Then there were a number of practices and doctrines which were considered faulty by certain reformers. As early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the question had often been raised whether it was right to have so many feast days, whether pilgrimages, relics, "good works" in general, were as efficacious as some claimed. The sale of indulgences was prohibited in Spain by Cardinal Ximenez. Cusa, the German cardinal, had taught the Augustinian doctrine of justification by faith and the depravity of human nature. Some of the Brethren of the Common Life in the Netherlands had preached the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, which was taught later by the early Protestants. They, in common with other loyal church members, had bewailed the indolence, ignorance, and immorality of certain classes of monks, priests, and bishops.

Far more radical were those reformers, or so-called reformers, who were condemned as heretics by the Church. Notable among these were the Waldenses, the followers of Peter Waldo of Lyons, who lived in southern France at the close of the twelfth century. They not only attacked existing abuses, but rejected several of the doctrines regarding the sacraments, and insisted on the reading of the New Testament in the vernacular. They resembled the Puritans of a later age in that they wished to simplify rites in the Church and to elevate morals generally. Shortly after the year 1200 they were suppressed so effectively that only a scattered few continued to preach their views in the Alps between France and Italy.

Perhaps the most notable of all the radical reformers was

John Wyclif, who taught for many years at Oxford, but who was silenced in 1378 because of his attacks on the power of the clergy, his repudiation of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and his relentless criticism of the abuses in the Church. He had a large following in England, but the Lollards, as his followers were called, were suppressed as successfully as the Waldenses had been two hundred years earlier. However, the views of Wyclif could not be exterminated, and it is possible that they prepared the way for the spread of Luther's teachings early in the sixteenth century.

There was one country in which heresy could not so easily be suppressed. That country was Bohemia, the native land of John Hus. Bohemian students had carried the doctrines of Wyclif from Oxford to Prague, where Hus taught them openly, and with such effect that the German professors and students finally left Prague for Leipzig (1409). Although Hus was condemned to die at the stake by the Council of Constance (1415), a large number of Hussites continued to teach his doctrines in Bohemia. Some of them rejected transubstantiation, indulgences, the confessional, and the worship of saints. They perpetuated the views of Hus long after he had been burned alive as a heretic. One day Luther himself was to exclaim: "We have all been Hussites without knowing it!"

Lutheranism

Martin Luther is one of those few dynamic figures in world history whose career will long remain of enduring interest to many thousands of serious-minded students. What the Reformation would have been without his leadership is difficult to conceive, but it is certain that his personality was the dominating factor in its early development. The whole movement, in fact, bears the ineffaceable impress of his struggle with late medieval traditions. Luther had his precursors. He was in part the product of his environment; he was a German of the

Germans, and his mind bore the imprints of a multitude of forces. But, far from being the passive recipient of opinions new and old, he chose to blaze the way for millions of faithful followers. He became for half of Europe the man of destiny, whose activities personified the greatest issues of the time.

Luther's ancestors were mostly Thuringian farmers, who transmitted to their descendant much that distinguished him in manner and temperament from his associates in university and monastery. His father, Hans Luther, had moved from Thuringia to Eisleben in the country of Mansfeld near Saxony, where, on November 10, 1483, Martin Luther was born. Half a year later his parents tried to improve their living by settling in the city of Mansfeld, a flourishing center of iron industry. For several years they remained very poor, but by the year 1491 they finally rose above the rank and file of the poorer classes.

For seven years (1490–1497) Luther attended the elementary school in Mansfeld. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Magdeburg, where he was taught by some of the Brethren of the Common Life in the Cathedral School. These pious brethren no doubt exhorted him to read the Bible, for such was their custom wherever they went. They stressed the need of inner piety, vital faith, and true love, the love of God and man, as taught by Jesus and St. Paul. They must have helped increase Luther's religious ardor, but cannot have prepared his mind for heresy.

In the year 1498 Luther went to Eisenach, where he was kindly treated by the wife of a prosperous burgher. In school he made friends with the rector and one of the assistants. He received careful training in Latin grammar, rhetoric, and poetry, so that, when in 1501 he left Eisenach to enter the University of Erfurt, he had finished an adequate secondary course of studies.

Erfurt was said to be the most populous place in Germany. The University at this time was not surpassed by any other

institution of learning in German lands, while the numerous churches and monasteries lent a religious air to the city that was hardly equalled anywhere outside of Italy. Erfurt was aptly termed a "little Rome." It was in this city that Luther became a scholar and a monk.

Luther experienced little difficulty in passing the course which led up to the degree of Master of Arts. Among the seventeen candidates who appeared for examination in 1505, the sturdy youth from Mansfeld secured second place. After having taken his degree, he was expected to teach in the University for a period of two years. Acting upon a wish of his father that he become a lawyer, he also took up the study of law, but did not continue this study very long, for within two months he suddenly decided to enter a monastery. His motives have never been clear to all biographers, but we know that on July 2 he experienced a crisis during a terrific thunderstorm. Invoking St. Anna, he then vowed to become a monk, and, once having made the vow, he felt obliged to keep it. Two weeks later he bade his friends farewell. On July 17 he entered the Augustinian monastery.

Two years later he was ordained priest, and in 1511 he accepted an appointment to teach theology and lecture on the Bible at the University of Wittenberg, which had been founded recently by the Elector of Saxony. His home remained the Augustinian monastery. It was in the monastery, both at Erfurt and Wittenberg, that he underwent a terrific spiritual conflict, being tortured for a period of at least eight years by the question, "How can a sinner win a gracious God?" His superiors told him not to worry, since sinful man is able to merit forgiveness by his "good works." But their counsel merely increased the fear he felt, for he seemed to make no progress in spite of all his efforts. In studying the works of Augustine, however, he was led to believe that this great thinker gave a different answer to his question than his own friends. Augustine taught that man is saved regardless of his

"good works." Finally, in 1515, when Luther was giving a course of lectures on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, he developed the doctrine of "justification by faith alone."

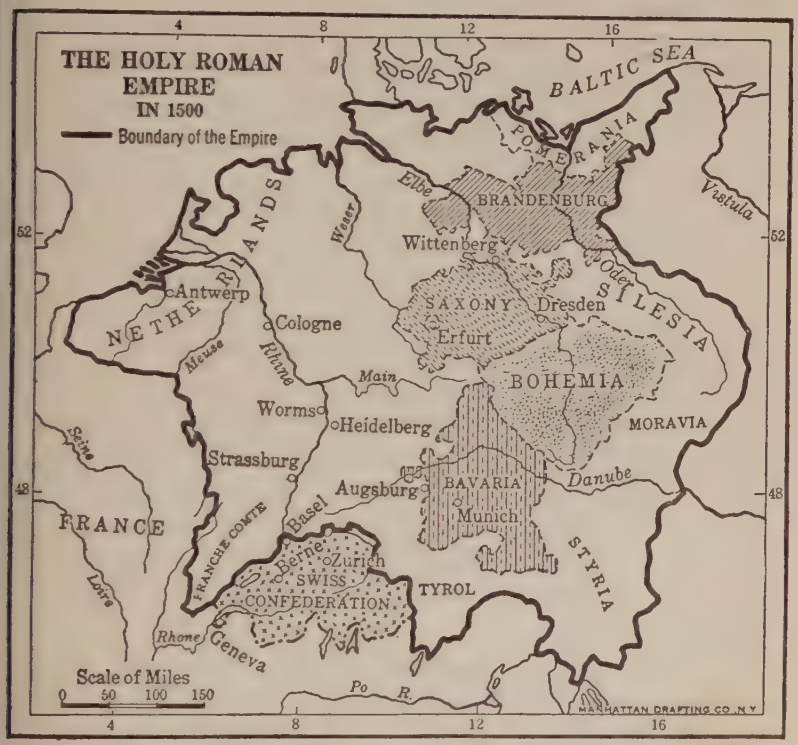
Many thousands of pious men and women before Luther's time had held this very same doctrine, but somehow it had caused little stir till Luther made of it the greatest issue of the day. It involved the rejection of the theory that the Church, through its sacraments, is the only effective mediator between God and man. It implied a revolt against the whole medieval system of church control and a return to primitive Christianity.

Few people, however, had heard of Luther until on October 31, 1517, he posted his famous Ninety-Five Theses on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg. Indulgences [1] were being sold for the archbishop of Mainz by a Dominican monk, named Tetzel, in several places near Saxony. People from Wittenberg had bought some of them, which had chagrined Luther, hence his attack on the sale of indulgences in his theses, or propositions. These were drawn up in Latin and intended for only a limited local group of scholars, but they were immediately circulated throughout Germany in German as well as in Latin, causing everywhere heated discussion and intense excitement. Many people in all walks of life agreed with Luther that nothing pertaining to the salvation and advancement of the soul should ever be sold for money. Repentance on the part of the sinner, said Luther, will result in ultimate forgiveness. However, it was not till 1520 that Luther rejected the whole system of indulgences. In the year 1517 he simply expressed a view held by many reformers who never left the Roman Catholic Church.

It was not long before Luther assumed a more radical attitude. When in the summer of 1519 he held a public debate with John Eck, a professor from Ingolstadt, his opponent

[1] Indulgences took the place of doing penance, and helped to remove temporal guilt.

adroitly made him admit that not only the pope but even a church council might err, and had erred, as had the Council of Constance in condemning the teachings of Hus. Soon after the debate Luther asserted that the pope must be the Antichrist. Then followed a series of pamphlets in which he fiercely



attacked the medieval system of salvation. Most notable among these were two compositions published in 1520.

The first was an appeal to his countrymen, entitled *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation.* In this he set forth his theory of "the priesthood of all believers," stating that every believer is in a certain sense a priest, ranking equally with ordained priests and any member of the higher clergy. Furthermore, he pointed out the enormous wealth of the Church

and the constant flow of money from Germany to Italy. The second pamphlet, written in Latin, was the *Babylonian Captivity of the Church,*—an attack on the whole sacramental system of the Church,—in which Luther expressed the wish that only three sacraments be retained, namely, the Holy Supper, Baptism, and Penance.

By this time Pope Leo X was thoroughly alarmed and saw no other recourse open to him but excommunication. When a copy of the papal bull arrived in Wittenberg, however, Luther had it burned in a bonfire, amidst the applause of the students. The next year Luther was outlawed by the Diet of Worms (May, 1521), where before the Emperor and many august bishops and princes he reaffirmed his former teachings. The sentence hurt him little, as he was spirited away at the order of the Elector of Saxony to the Castle of Wartburg.

There he began the translation of the Bible. The language he employed was that of the Chancery of Saxony, a country located in the center of the Germanies, which fact materially aided Luther in shaping the future literary language of Germany. His translation was a momentous achievement, equalling even the great King James' Version in English. It should be noted, however, that Luther was aided in this task by Philip Melanchthon, whose knowledge of Greek and Hebrew proved indispensable.

Luther had now become the most widely discussed person in Europe. His teachings spread far and wide, partly on account of his fame as a national hero, partly because of other factors. His appeal to the princes had immediate effect. They hated the papacy and were anxious to secure some possessions for themselves. Luther's exposure of flagrant abuses appealed to thousands of earnest Christians. His writings had a popular appeal not attained by the polished Latin of Erasmus. His use of invectives also carried weight. Finally, his dominating personality provided the necessary force to keep the movement for reform alive. What he said was not new; his wisdom and

learning were not the most profound; but he was the man of destiny who alone seemed capable of originating a movement which remained organized and gained momentum from year to year until success was assured. Lutheranism was aided further by the inability of Charles V to suppress it since he was hampered by rebellion in Spain, hostility of the French king, attacks by the Turks, and occasionally by the antagonism of the pope himself.

After the year 1524 the spread of Lutheranism was checked to some extent. In the first place, Luther antagonized Erasmus and many other humanists by his view on the total depravity of human nature. His marriage in 1525 with a former nun also weakened his cause. Then there were the bad effects of the Peasants' War of 1525, in which the farmers of southern Germany, inspired to action by Luther's teachings, rose against the nobles, whom Luther openly favored, thus arousing the hatred of the farmers against himself. About fifty thousand were killed in the war, and at its close the condition of the farmers was made more burdensome than it had been before. Luther had at first expressed sympathy for the harshly treated peasants, but when they started a rebellion, he condemned their action. Many of the nobles, alarmed by the rebellion of the peasants, blamed Luther for the upheaval, and turned against him too.

In 1526 the Diet of the Holy Roman Empire was held in Speyer. Here Lutheranism was officially recognized, and it was agreed that until a church council was held each prince could decide for himself whether he wished to be Catholic or Lutheran. Three years later, however, at another Diet in Speyer, the Catholic princes agreed that Lutheranism should be suppressed in every principality; whereupon the Lutheran princes issued a legal protest, alleging that their opponents had broken their former agreement. After that protest, the followers of Luther were called Protestants, a name latter applied also to other people who broke with the Roman Catholic Church.

The next diet was held in 1530, with Charles V present, at Augsburg, where Melanchthon presented a series of articles of faith, known as the Confession of Augsburg. Melanchthon had been in such close contact with Luther ever since the year 1518 that his articles of faith expressed the essence of Luther's teachings. They have remained till the present day a fundamental part of the Lutheran creed. The Confession of Augsburg was signed by the Elector of Saxony and several other princes of northern and central Germany. It presented as near an approach to the Roman Catholic faith as Luther was willing to grant. Melanchthon was anxious to make further concessions, hoping to arrive at a creed which could be accepted by the Roman Catholics as well as the Protestants, but Luther restrained him.

Emperor Charles V was very much displeased by the articles of the Confession of Augsburg, and determined to exterminate Lutheranism. When the Lutheran princes learned his intention they formed an alliance for mutual protection at Schmalkald, called the Schmalkaldic League (1531). Aided at times by the French king, who was a rival of Charles V, they were able to maintain their religion. After some desultory fighting from 1546 to 1555, which ended in the peace of Augsburg (1555), Charles V was compelled to recognize the Lutheran faith, and agreed that Lutherans living in ecclesiastical states did not have to renounce their faith. The terms of the peace stated further that Lutheranism was the only form of Protestantism to be recognized officially, that each prince was allowed to dictate his form of religion to his subjects,[1] and that the church lands taken over by the Protestants before 1552 would remain their property. Further civil war in Germany was thus averted for more than half a century.

In Scandinavia the spread of Lutheranism was even more rapid and thorough than in the Holy Roman Empire. The

[1] This principle was called *cuius regio eius religio*, or, translated literally, whose country, his religion.

Danish king, who also ruled over Norway, favored Luther's teachings. He invited Lutheran preachers from Germany to his court, where they taught the new faith with such marked success that by 1537 it was adopted as the state religion of both Denmark and Norway. In the rural districts Lutheranism was not introduced without bitter opposition, but the power of the king was sufficient at that time to stifle public opinion, and to turn the people to the new faith.

Sweden had secured a king of its own in 1523. He likewise endeavored to introduce Lutheranism into his country, but he was careful not to overthrow honored institutions like the Archbishopric of Upsala. As early as the year 1531 the first Protestant Archbishop of Upsala was invested with the headship of the state church of Sweden. In the next two decades Roman Catholicism rapidly dwindled until by the beginning of the seventeenth century there were practically no Roman Catholics in Sweden.

Calvinism

Outside of Germany and Scandinavia the teachings of Luther created considerable stir, but were either supplanted by Calvinism and other Protestant religions or failed to spread. Notably in the Low Countries, or Netherlands, and in England, Lutheranism had met with a warm reception among many classes of people. But when Calvin began his work in Geneva, and when Dutch and English students came flocking to his academy, soon to return to thir native countries with his message, Lutheranism was almost obliterated by Calvinism. The same thing happened in France, though on a lesser scale.

In Switzerland a similar phenomenon occurred. Here Lutheranism first gave way to the teachings of Huldreich Zwingli, but after the year 1540 Calvinism rapidly spread throughout the cantons. Calvin owed so much to Luther and so little to Zwingli that Calvinism in Switzerland was simply a phase of a larger movement, the spread of Calvinism from Geneva into

the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, France, the Low Countries, Germany, England, and Scotland.

It was not surprising that Calvinism became the dominant form of Protestantism in Switzerland. This would probably have happened even if Zwingli had never preceded Calvin there. Zwingli resembled Calvin in insisting on simple services and rites in the church. His followers had destroyed a good many statues, paintings, and stained windows. They had followed Zwingli in rejecting both the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran interpretation of Christ's presence in the Holy Supper. Calvin, however, considered Zwingli's view "profane," because the latter denied even the spiritual presence of Christ. Luther had denounced Zwingli as a pagan. Soon after the death of Zwingli, in 1531, his type of reform was held in check by Catholics and Lutherans alike. A little later it was merged with Calvinism.

John Calvin was undoubtedly, next to Luther, the greatest Protestant figure in the sixteenth century. The movement he inaugurated was in fact of such wide proportions that it affected millions of people who were not called Calvinists in the strict sense of the word. The countries in which his teachings were most widely accepted became for a time the leading industrial and commercial nations in the whole world, and it is not too much to say that Calvinism has been one of the chief factors in the making of American civilization.

Calvin was born at Noyon in northern France in the year 1509. He never knew his mother, who died soon after his birth; and his father, who was not interested in children, sent him to the home of an aristocratic friend. Here the little boy probably developed some of the traits of character which later distinguished him so greatly from a man like Luther. If he had been reared by loving parents he might have been less cold and haughty in later life. We do know that at an early age he was noted for his strong will and his aristocratic and critical attitude.

At the age of fourteen Calvin was sent to Paris, where,

as the recipient of a benefice in the Church, he was able to secure a liberal education. He spent four years (1523–1527) in the dormitory called *Collège de Montaigu,* which housed university students studying theology. The dormitory had a very long history, but at the end of the fifteenth century it had fallen into decay. Shortly after the year 1480 it had been remodeled and practically founded anew by a great Flemish reformer, named John Standonck, who had received his early education from the Brethren of the Common Life, and had imitated his pious teachers by helping to reform the clergy. Under his supervision several new buildings had been constructed, a library installed, and students invited to live there. When Calvin arrived, Standonck had long since passed away, and had been succeeded by his pupil, Noel Béda, under whose administration the dormitory had maintained a high reputation. Here Calvin became intimately acquainted with the Bible, the *Imitation of Christ,* and the works of Augustine.

One year after Calvin left Montaigu he was asked by his father to take up law instead of more theology. He spent a short time at the universities of Orleans and Bourges, and in 1531, the year in which his father died, he became interested in classical studies. His first book was a commentary on Seneca's *De Clementia.*

As yet Calvin had displayed little aptitude for the rôle of a great reformer of the ascetic type. He had been living at the expense of the Church, troubled little by worries about the salvation of his soul. Like another St. Paul, he had eagerly imbibed the learning of the great teachers of his country, and had asked few questions about the abuses in the Church. But his great admiration for Erasmus and Lefèvre had led to the reading of some of Luther's works. It is possible that for several years his mind had been getting ready for an entirely new mode of living and thinking. In the year 1533 the climax came, a "conversion," seemingly of a very sudden nature, like a flash of light, or at least so it seemed to Calvin. He believed

that he had received a call from God to leave the Roman Catholic Church.

It was not long before he was compelled to find a hiding-place outside of France. After many wanderings he finally sought refuge in Basel, in northern Switzerland, where in 1536 he published his celebrated *Institutes of the Christian Religion,*—the great master-piece of Protestant theology. The first edition was in Latin, but in 1541 a French translation appeared. Each successive edition was a little larger than the preceding, until the last one, printed in 1559, had become more than four times as large as the edition of 1536.

Calvin's *Institutes* was very largely based on some of the more important works by Luther. Calvin also was indebted, although to a much smaller extent, to the contributions by Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Farel.[1] The doctrines emphasized by Calvin were the sovereignty of God, predestination, justification by faith, and Christ's spiritual presence in the sacrament of the Holy Supper. The *Institutes* exercised a tremendous influence on the Protestants of England, Scotland, and Holland. Its faultless logic and clarity of style greatly enhanced its power. The book became the most effective weapon of Protestantism.

Calvin differed from Luther by asserting that nothing should be left in the Church which had not been authorized by the Bible. Luther, who was less ascetic and severe than Calvin, thought that everything could be left in the Church which had not been prohibited by the Bible. Hence the difference in the church services of Calvinists and Lutherans. When Calvin lived in Strassburg, from 1538 to 1541, he adopted the form of church service he found established there, and used it in Geneva, where he resided from 1541 until his death in 1564.

In Geneva he rapidly grew to a position of almost unlimited power, ruling like an autocrat in this little republic, which he

[1] A French Protestant who prepared the way for Calvin in western Switzerland.

transformed into a theocracy. Here the church dominated the state. People were fined for not attending church. The number of festivals was practically reduced to zero; theaters were closed, games prohibited on Sunday, frivolity checked, and social entertainments curtailed. The lives of all inhabitants were under the strictest surveillance, as if the people lived in glass houses. Undesirable citizens were banished and a considerable number of people were executed because of adultery, blasphemy, and heresy.

Geneva became the citadel of the Reformed Church, the strongest bulwark of Protestantism. From France, England, Scotland, Germany, and the Netherlands came hundreds of devout Protestants who eagerly imbibed Calvin's religion. Most of them returned in the course of a few years and became enthusiastic missionaries of Calvinism. Not only did Calvin found the celebrated University of Geneva, but he preached thousands of sermons and wrote thousands of letters, keeping in touch with large numbers of devoted followers in foreign countries. In Scotland they founded the Presbyterian Church, in Holland and Germany the Reformed Churches, in France the Huguenot churches, and in England they profoundly affected the course of the Reformation, partly by establishing the Congregational Church, partly by preaching reform within the Anglican Church, and partly by exerting much influence on other new denominations, such as the Quakers and the Baptists.

In France, the Calvinists came to be called Huguenots, a name of obscure derivation. The Huguenots never numbered more than about one twelfth of the whole population, but they were a very intelligent class of people, comprising skilled workingmen, merchants, lawyers, scholars, and nobles. They acquired considerable political power, secured religious toleration from the government, and at one time even threatened to usurp the throne. There were several reasons, however, why Protestantism was never adopted by the French people as a whole. Late in the fifteenth century a number of zealous reformers had al-

ready publicly exposed the abuses in the Church, many reforms had been introduced, and in 1516 the king had made an agreement with the pope, called the Concordat of 1516, according to which he received the right to appoint bishops and to dispose of important benefices. Hence, both king and people felt little desire to break with the Roman Catholic Church. It is possible that more subtle and far-reaching forces were in operation which also helped to maintain the Catholic faith in France. It has been pointed out that the French differed from Teutonic peoples and that France for centuries was an integral part of the Roman Empire, while countries like Germany, Scandinavia, Holland, and England had never been completely Romanized.

Calvinism entered the Low Countries, or Netherlands, from the south.[1] At first the southern provinces counted more adherents than those beyond the Rhine. But after the year 1560 the latter area witnessed the remarkable process of change from Catholicism to Calvinism. Kings and princes had nothing to do with this process. Political and economic issues counted for little. Whereas the ten southern provinces remained almost solidly Roman Catholic, and even in the Dutch Republic only one fourth of the people south of the Rhine turned Protestant, the other provinces became very decidedly Calvinistic.

Equally remarkable was the spread of Calvinism in Scotland. Long before the reign of King James VI (1567–1625) a powerful group of nobles had become Protestants, partly for political and economic reasons. They wished to reduce the power of the king, and were envious of the wealthy clergy. But it was not until the coming of John Knox, in 1559, that the majority of the Scotch people adopted the tenets of Protestanism. Knox had been exiled from Scotland on account of his religious beliefs, and he had gone to Geneva, where he became a most enthusiastic disciple of Calvin. Upon his return to

[1] The Netherlands consisted of seventeen provinces, of which the northern seven in 1581 formed a new state, named the Dutch Republic. See Chapter III.

Scotland he led the Protestants in that country. The Protestant nobles had formed a league called "Lords of the Congregation" and appointed Knox as its head. In 1560, he drew up a confession of faith which was rigidly Calvinistic, and churches were organized on the Calvinistic model. Scotland had become, like Holland, one of the chief centers of Calvinism.

In Germany the number of Calvinists was never very large. The peace of Augsburg (1555) had recognized only the Lutheran and Catholic faiths. It had been signed before some of the leading princes had become Calvinists, and so it happened that the Calvinists received no official recognition until the end of another civil war (1648). Meanwhile a considerable group of influential people in Southern Germany and in territories along the Rhine chose to adopt Calvin's teachings. Due to the peculiar type of government prevailing in the Holy Roman Empire they were not as a rule molested, and thus were enabled to found many German Reformed churches.

The Church of England

The name Anglican Church, or Church of England, is of very ancient origin. Throughout the Middle Ages the popes often referred to the *Ecclesia Anglicana,* or Anglican Church, but never implied more by that name than that this church was one unit in the Roman Catholic Church. Somehow the name remained the same in spite of the great change which came over the Church in the sixteenth century. If England had been more closely in touch with the Continent it is likely that its national church might have undergone much greater change than it did. Compared with the transformation of the state churches of Scandinavia and Scotland and Holland, for example, the change in the Church of England was very moderate.

There was in fact a great deal of similarity between the course of the Reformation in England and in France. The

French church, or *Ecclesia Gallicana,* like the Church of England, always retained its name and its national character. For many centuries a conflict was waged in France for the independence of the state church, until the climax was reached during the French Revolution (1790), when the property of the church was confiscated by the state. In England the king and Parliament had taken several steps before the Reformation to curtail the power of the pope and of the church, more or less after the example of the French government. At the end of the fifteenth century a group of distinguished scholars in England had insisted on a reform of abuses in the church, without hinting at a break with the Roman Catholic Church. The tendency had been in England, as in France, to make the national church more independent of the papacy, to improve conditions in the Church, and to give the people a better chance to develop a personal religion.

Erasmus had some eminent friends in England who emulated such French reformers as Standonck and Lefèvre in endeavoring to remedy the evils in the Church. The reformers had a large following in England and exerted much influence in the University of Oxford and in London. John Colet, who died in 1519, was one of these "Oxford Reformers." He insisted that the clergy, and particularly the monks, were sadly in need of reform. Although the interests of these reformers were primarily religious and educational, while the king was moved to action by political considerations, they all coöperated in preparing the way for the Reformation, which began to develop in England during the reign of Henry VIII (1509–1547).

This king belonged to the powerful house of Tudor, which from the very beginning of its rule (1485) till its very end (1603) followed successfully the policy first of securing and then of maintaining almost absolute power for the crown. During the War of the Roses (1455–1485) the power of the nobility had been greatly reduced, thus removing one of

the checks on the absolutism of the king. Both Henry VII (1485–1509) and Henry VIII kept Parliament in abject submission. Should Henry VIII ever decide to break with Rome, he would be as likely to impose his will on the people as did the kings of Denmark and Sweden. But for many years it seemed that his policy was exactly the opposite. One year after the appearance of Luther's *Babylonian Captivity,* he published a book entitled *The Defense of the Seven Sacraments* (1521). Pope Leo X gratefully bestowed on him the title of *Defender of the Faith.* Henry also made an alliance with the pope against Emperor Charles V (1526–1528).

For purely political reasons, therefore, Henry VIII would not have been easily impelled to antagonize the papacy. His breach with Rome was caused by other considerations. He had been living an apparently contented married life with Catherine of Aragon, the aunt of Charles V, although he fully realized ever since the marriage in 1509 that Catherine had been his brother's wife and that it was not permitted by the Church to marry the widow of one's brother. He had secured a "dispensation" to marry her and had felt no compunction until one day he was much attracted by the pretty face of a young girl at the court, named Anne Boleyn. He was at this very time (1527) sending troops to aid the pope, Clement VII, who was fighting against Charles V. He wanted to secure a divorce, partly because he wished a male heir, and Catherine had only one surviving child, Mary, who later became queen of England (1553–1558).

Divorce was naturally opposed by Catherine of Aragon, and it was certain to be opposed by her nephew, the powerful Charles V. The pope was therefore very cautious, wishing to offend neither the king nor the emperor. He delayed the decision as long as possible, to the great irritation of Henry VIII, who finally took matters into his own hands, divorced Catherine, married Anne Boleyn, cut off the payment of annates from England to Rome, and in 1534 he compelled his Par-

liament to name him Head of the Church of England. He had broken with Rome, separated the English Church from the Roman Catholic Church, but had not become a Protestant. To prove that he was no heretic, he persecuted the English Protestants as vigorously as he persecuted those Catholics who refused to recognize him as head of the English Church. Many thousands of men and women were executed, among them such an illustrious leader as Thomas More. His actions caused great amazement on the Continent, where toleration certainly was not in the ascendant.

Henry VIII took still further steps in his attack on the papal power. The monasteries were dissolved, not merely because a great many of them were in a scandalous condition, but also because the king wished to appropriate some of the wealth of the Church for his own benefit and to distribute another part of it to a number of influential laymen, whose support he really needed. Although he never became a Protestant, he neverthless was most assuredly an enemy of the head of the Roman Catholic Church.

It is possible that England would have become a Protestant country if Henry VIII had never seen Anne Boleyn, or perhaps if he had never lived. It certainly would be improper to call him the founder of the Episcopal or Anglican Church. The Reformation spread into the northern parts of Germany, Scandinavia, and Holland. It was readily welcomed in the Teutonic countries. If England was to have been an exception, we may readily see how the successors of Henry VIII would naturally have sought a reconciliation with Rome.

Edward VI, who succeeded Henry VIII in 1547, was too young to exercise much personal power. His regents openly welcomed Protestant preachers from the Continent. The number of Protestants increased by leaps and bounds, regardless of the attitude of the three children of Henry VIII who ruled after him. One of them was Mary Tudor, daughter of Catherine of Aragon, a devout Catholic, and the successor of

Edward. She is known in the history of England as "Bloody Mary," because she was responsible for the execution of about three hundred Protestants. But her opposition to Protestantism did not turn back the tide any farther than the favor of Edward VI and his regents helped to advance it.

Mary's successor was Elizabeth (1558–1603), also a daughter of Henry VIII, and the last sovereign of the house of Tudor. It was during her reign that Protestantism actually triumphed in England. Before the year 1560 the large majority of the people were still Catholics, for it was only in the towns that Protestantism had advanced to any degree. However, the influential classes were the first to embrace Protestantism, exactly as happened in Holland, where during the long war with Spain more than half of the people were Catholics, but the country as a whole, judged by the acts of the government, seemed to be entirely committed to the Protestant cause.

Between the death of Henry VIII (1547) and the accession of Elizabeth a great change had come about in the Church of England. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, had prepared the *Book of Common Prayer* (1549). Although the book was little more than a translation of parts of the Roman Breviary, nevertheless its solemn music and powerful style made a strong appeal to wavering hearts. It stimulated the trend of popular feeling. The sacrament of the Holy Supper was no longer regarded as a renewed sacrifice of Christ, the word "Mass" was supplanted by the terms "Holy Communion" and "Lord's Supper," while the ritual was also changed. Many church walls were whitewashed to express the austerity of Calvin's religion, which now began to supplant the teachings of Lutherans and other Protestants. The *Book of Common Prayer* proved to be an effective weapon for Protestantism. In the beginning of Elizabeth's reign it was revised for a second time, but it still resembled the edition of 1549. In 1563 the articles of faith were reduced from forty-two (drawn up in the reign of Edward VI and published in 1553) to thirty-

nine, the celebrated Thirty-Nine Articles which have ever since remained the official creed of the Church of England.

Elizabeth tried to avoid offense to various influential classes of people. She assumed the title of "Supreme Governor of the Church of England," believing that the title adopted by Henry VIII was odious to both the Catholics, who regarded the pope as head of the Church, and to the Puritans, who looked upon Christ as the only real Head. The queen did insist however, on "Uniformity." Parliament passed an act in 1559, called the "Act of Uniformity of Common Prayer," which was intended to enforce conformity to the order of worship prescribed in the *Book of Common Prayer*. Attendance was declared compulsory. Those who did not attend had to pay a fine, and ministers who refused to conform were punished. Later, when it became known that plots were laid by Catholics to overthrow the government of Elizabeth, a policy of persecution was followed, but it should be borne in mind that the two hundred executions during Elizabeth's reign were not on the ground of heresy, but for treason. Since state and church were deemed one body, Elizabeth reasoned that disloyalty to the Church of England constituted treason. Puritans were also persecuted, but, in spite of Elizabeth's policy of repression, their numbers increased rapidly, so that by the end of her reign they began to form a real menace to the crown. It has been estimated that by the year 1585 the number of Catholics in England had been reduced to only 150,000, out of 4,000,000 for the whole population, or less than four per cent. This percentage remained stationary during the seventeenth century.[1]

Puritans and "Independents"

The five decades between 1520 and 1570 were truly a momentous period in the history of the Christian Church. In-

[1] One reason why Protestantism became so popular was the use made of the "Great Bible," a translation of the Bible based very largely on Protestant versions, and authorized by Parliament in 1539. The Catholics finally saw themselves compelled to issue a translation of their own.

stead of one Roman Catholic Church in western and northern Europe there now came to be four large branches of the Christian Church, namely, the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, the Calvinistic, and the Anglican. In addition to these four a number of smaller denominations grew up, most of them of a more radical type than the greater churches. It is difficult to classify them, but, although their origins were often obscure, and their founders despised and persecuted, they were nevertheless of great importance in their later development.

If the term Puritans is used in its widest possible sense it includes all of those sects which regarded the leading Protestant churches as too conservative and hostile to a thoroughgoing purification of the Church. They represented an amazing array of individual beliefs. Many of them were called Anabaptists, because they rejected infant baptism and insisted on another baptism for members of the Christian Churches; hence the name Anabaptists, or "Again-Baptists." But aside from that belief the Anabaptist sects had very little in common. Some were followers of Luther to a certain degree, while others approached the Calvinists. Then there were various groups of mystics who were opposed to any ecclesiastical organization whatsoever. They criticized Luther for having preached the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers without practising it. They argued that if one took seriously the theory of justification by faith alone, one would not need the services of ordained ministers, and that every believer could administer the sacraments. Some sects were opposed to any form of ritual, to music, flowers, painted walls, and any other decoration in the churches. Others emphasized the evils of celibacy and monogamy, turning bigamists and polygamists. There were people who actually believed it sinful to wear clothes, and there were some who thought they were moved by the Holy Spirit to bray like donkeys, and shout and foam like madmen.

Most numerous on the Continent were the Anabaptists. A few of the radicals in Wittenberg who caused Luther so much

worry in 1522, were Anabaptists. Two years later Zwingli was disturbed by Anabaptists in and near Zürich. Wherever they appeared they were persecuted. In Zürich some of the leaders were drowned, while others were banished, carrying their doctrines to other regions. They quickly spread throughout southern Germany. Before long they entered northern Germany and the Netherlands. The best known apostle of the new beliefs was Melchior Hofmann, who after long wanderings finally settled down in Holland. Two of his followers went to Münster, the capital of Westphalia, where in the year 1534 the Anabaptists secured control of the municipal government. In 1535, however, the city surrendered to the army of the Bishop of Münster, and with this surrender came the collapse of the movement in Germany. In Holland, on the other hand, a recrudescence followed after a period of disgrace. The excesses and fanaticism of the early leaders had discredited the movement and for a time it seemed as if their cause was lost. But under the guidance of Menno Simons, a Dutch reformer, a moderate group of Dutch Anabaptists flourished during the second half of the sixteenth century.

The "Mennonites" secured toleration in Holland in 1575. Their conception of the visible Christian Church as a group of self-governing local congregations found favor with many of the English Protestants who between 1560 and 1620 resided in Holland. The Baptist churches in England and the United States are lineal offshoots of the Anabaptist churches in Holland, while the Congregational Church owes its origin also in a large measure to a number of English congregations in Dutch cities, which must be looked upon as the mother churches of the Congregational denomination.

The Baptists and Congregationalists are known in English history as "Independents," for they lived outside the communion of the Church of England. Another group of "Independents" were the Quakers, who received that name be-

cause they would sometimes "quake" with emotion caused by the power of the Holy Spirit. In common with the Anabaptists, they believed in a policy of "non-resistance," and refused to take oaths.

The name "Puritans" is usually applied only to those Protestants who remained within the Church of England, but wished to "purify" its ritual. They were strongly influenced by the principles of Calvinism, and might be called the Calvinists in the Anglican Church. They were opposed to the use of the Prayer Book, the altars, crucifixes, vestments, and elaborate decorations in the church buildings. They were vigorously persecuted by Queen Elizabeth and her two successors, but in spite of royal opposition, constantly increased in numbers, so that their leaders finally formed a majority in the House of Commons. Their influence in the Anglican Church remained a living force throughout the seventeenth century, where they formed the "Low Church" party as against the "High Church" party. The latter has always been of the aristocratic and conservative type, closely approaching the faith of the Roman Catholics. Some of its members have even accepted the doctrine of transubstantiation.

The Puritans who emigrated to New England claimed that they had never left the Church of England, although a great many of them were no longer using the Prayer Book and were opposed to the institution of bishops. The Pilgrim Fathers are supposed to have seceded from the Church of England, but many of them constantly denied this. Even such a distinguished leader as John Robinson, pastor at Leyden in Holland, frequently expressed his opinion to that effect. Whatever may have been their attitude toward the Anglican Church, however, they slowly drifted away from this denomination. Both they and the Puritans in America founded churches of their own, becoming "Independents" in fact as well as in name. In this country they were known as Congregationalists.

The Catholic Reformation

In Italy, Spain, Portugal, Austria, France, Poland, and Ireland, the bulk of the population remained loyal to the papacy. That the Italians did so seems natural because the popes lived in Italy, and huge sums of money flowed each year to Rome. Moreover, since the year 1377 only one man has ever been elected pope who was not an Italian. This man was Adrian of Utrecht, chosen in 1521, and pope for the short period of ten months. There were other reasons why Italy remained Roman Catholic. The peninsula, seemingly comprising a group of independent and mutually hostile states, was dominated in the sixteenth century by the two Catholic kings of Spain: Charles V, the Emperor (1516–1555), and Philip II (1555–1598). It should also be noted that the Renaissance, although in some respects it prepared the way for the Reformation, was essentially hostile to the spirit of the latter movement. Italy had given birth to the Renaissance. The Italians loved the glory of the present life, they produced great artists and polished scholars, but they composed few popular religious works during this critical period.

In Spain conditions were different, but here too were many forces in operation which resulted in a reformation widely different from the Protestant Reformation. In Spain, Portugal, and France many reformers had sincerely lamented the sad conditions prevailing in the Church. They had clamored for reform, and not without success. Spain was rapidly becoming the chief center of the Catholic Reformation, while its neighbors to the east and north were also being aroused by the new currents of religious revival. Old religious orders were reformed and new ones founded, requests were made by hundreds of earnest reformers for a great church council, and it was hoped by many that the papacy would also be reformed. In southwestern Europe the governments secured enough concessions from the pope to desire no break with Rome. Hence

CHRISTIANS
Roman Catholic
Greek Orthodox
Protestants
Lutheran
Calvinist
Anglican
Oriental (Armenian etc.)
Mixed Catholic & Protestant
MOHAMMEDANS
Sunnites
Shiites
PAGANS
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
NORWAY
SWE
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
DENMARK
DUTCH REPUBLIC
BRANDENBURG
SAXONY
SILESIA
THE EMPIRE
FRANCE
SAVOY
VENICE
PAPAL STATES
TUSCANY
ADRIATIC SEA
NAPLES
HUN
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
CORSICA
BALEARIC IS.
SARDINIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SICILY
ALGERIA
TUNIS
60
50
40
30
30
20
10
0
10
20
0
10
20
THE RELIGIONS OF EUROPE
IN 1580
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO., N.Y.

30
40
50
60
60
RUSSIA
50
THUANIA
AND
Aral Sea
CRIMEA
CASPIAN SEA
40
BLACK SEA
MA
ANATOLIA
EMPIRE
CRETE
CYPRUS
SEA
SYRIA
30
Persian Gulf
30
40

both crown and people in Spain, Portugal, and France were content with a reformation within the Church.

Austria, the home of the Habsburg emperors, remained as solidly Catholic as any other country in Europe. Its proximity to Italy may have been a contributing factor. In the sixteenth century the Turks advanced as far as Vienna, threatening to annex Austria as well as Hungary, so the people gratefully accepted the aid of the pope and of Venice.

Poland was the only country of northern Europe which did not turn Protestant. The Poles did not belong to the Teutonic race and the Germans were their enemies. Perhaps that was the reason why the Poles chose to remain Roman Catholic, just as in former centuries they had refused to join the Russians in seceding from the Roman Catholic Church. It is likely that similar motives made the Irish people maintain a religion different from that of the English.

One thing is certain, however, that many of the districts saved for the Catholics would have been lost if the great reformers in Spain, Italy, and France, no less than in Germany, had not carried out their plans for a great council, which would reaffirm and define the doctrines of the Church and make reform compulsory. Much more was needed than mere talk and persecution. After years of delay, because of distrust and rivalries, the council became at last a reality. In 1545 it opened at Trent, on the frontier between German-speaking and Italian-speaking peoples. Its last session closed in 1563. No Protestant delegate appeared, although invitations had been sent.

Everything that reformers like Standonck in France and Ximenez in Spain had insisted on was adopted. There was to be no more simony, no more nepotism, no shirking of duties, no toleration of ignorance and vice. A "reformation in head and members," so often attempted before, now became an actual fact. Sermons were to be preached in the vernacular, so that the congregations could derive more benefit from the church services. A new standard edition of the Bible was issued, still

called the Vulgate, and still in Latin, but freed from errors as far as possible. The papal government was reorganized, an official catechism drawn up, and a list prepared of all heretical and dangerous books, which list was called the Index.

Equally important was the series of articles which defined the dogma of the Roman Catholic Church. Far from imitating the conciliatory attitude adopted by Melanchthon at Augsburg in 1530, the clergy firmly maintained the medieval doctrines. The doctrine of justification by faith alone was repudiated, and individual interpretation of the Bible condemned. All of the seven sacraments were upheld, transubstantiation was reaffirmed, the teachings about purgatory and indulgences were approved. Even the veneration of images and relics, and the invocation of saints, rejected by many writers in the fifteenth century, were solemnly commended. The pope retained his undisputed spiritual authority over all Catholic territories, and he was naturally recognized as chief of all the bishops. Now it was possible at last to tell exactly what was the official creed of the Roman Catholic Church.

One more weapon was needed to check the rising wave of Protestantism, namely, a powerful organization, a group of zealous missionaries, who would maintain discipline, exhort the wavering rulers to fight for the faith, and support the papacy in the great crisis. This organization was forthcoming, namely the Society of Jesus, commonly referred to as the Jesuits. It was founded in 1534 by Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish reformer, who had set out to be a soldier. When he was on his way to Barcelona and the Holy Land, an injury to his leg caused him to give up his plans. In one of the Spanish monasteries he experienced a great psychical change. Aroused by the reading of a life of Christ and by some stirring passages in the *Imitation of Christ*, he determined to become a different kind of soldier, a soldier of the Cross. While still in Spain he composed his celebrated *Spiritual Exercises*. In Paris he

gathered a few other devout souls together and formed the nucleus of the Society of Jesus, which became a semi-military, religious order.

The Jesuits were instrumental in winning back for the Catholic Church several large districts where Protestantism had nearly triumphed. In the southern Netherlands, Bavaria, Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland they carried on active missionary work by preaching powerful sermons and by founding schools in which very fine instruction was given. They were most effective through tutoring princes, future crowned heads, and other prominent men. One of their pupils, for example, was Ferdinand of Styria, who in 1619 became Emperor. The Jesuits also sent out missionaries to distant continents, where they gained many thousands of converts. Their heroism, learning, pure morals, and great industry did a great deal to restore the prestige of the Catholic clergy.

Protestantism was further restricted by the Inquisition, an ancient institution, employed in parts of Spain as early as the thirteenth century. In 1478 the rulers of Spain secured permission from the pope to establish a court, called the Inquisition, which was to be appointed by the crown, and to be composed of both ecclesiastics and laymen. The court "inquired" into the beliefs of the inhabitants. The crimes which it punished most severely were heresy, bigamy, and blasphemy.

In the Netherlands the Inquisition struck terror into the hearts of the first Protestants, while in Italy another court, called the Roman Inquisition, also was responsible for the execution of Protestants. These courts would hand over the victims to the government, which proceeded to execute them. Both Protestants and Catholics were each so certain of possessing the only true means of salvation that they believed they were doing a good deed in killing their opponents. A man like Erasmus would have grown faint at heart had he lived to observe what had become of tolerance!

SUGGESTED READINGS

THE CHURCH AND RELIGION

Cambridge Modern History, vol. I, chapters XVIII, XIX.

L. Pastor, *History of the Popes,* vol. I. This work is the best history of the papacy ever published. A brilliantly written presentation by a distinguished Catholic scholar in Germany. The book is not entirely free, however, from Catholic bias.

E. M. Hulme, *Renaissance and Reformation,* chapter VIII.

M. Creighton, *History of the Papacy,* vol. I. chapter I. Older and less reliable than Pastor, but the chapter referred to is useful.

D. S. Schaff, *History of the Christian Church,* vol. V, part 2, 1294–1517. Scholarly, but marred somewhat by Protestant prejudices. Read Section 9.

T. M. Lindsay, *The Reformation,* vol. I, pp. 1–17. A useful summary of the history of the papacy. Read also pp. 114–157, which deal with religious conditions in Germany.

G. B. Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages,* pp. 392–401.

P. Smith, *The Age of the Reformation,* pp. 13–20.

CAUSES OF THE REFORMATION

P. Smith, *The Age of the Reformation,* pp. 20-61. This work is the best account of its size in English, although Smith's treatment of the papacy and of the rise of the Christian Church is open to criticism.

W. Walker, *The Reformation,* chapter I.

F. A. Gasquet, *The Eve of the Reformation.*

A. Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance,* chapters VI–VIII.

H. C. Lea, *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences,* 3 vols.

L. Pastor, *History of the Popes,* vol. I, pp. 282–361.

J. S. Schapiro, *Social Reform and the Reformation.*

LUTHERANISM

P. Smith, *The Life and Letters of Martin Luther.*

H. Grisar, *Luther,* 4 vols. Translated from the German by E. M. Lamond. A remarkable arraignment of facts by a capable Jesuit, whose attempt to discredit the achievements of Luther must constantly be borne in mind when one reads this important contribution.

H. Wace and C. A. Buchheim, *First Principles of the Reformation.* Contains an excellent translation of Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses,* and of his three famous pamphlets of the year 1520. The Introduction is also worth reading.

A. Hyma, *The Theological Development of Luther from Erfurt to Augsburg.* A source-book.

J. W. Richard, *Philip Melanchton.*

T. M. Lindsay, *The Reformation,* vol. I, chapter VII to the end of the volume. A very readable account.

H. C. Vedder, *The Reformation in Germany.*

R. N. Bain, *Scandinavia.* Treats the spread of Lutheranism in Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

CALVINISM

S. M. Jackson, *Huldreich Zwingli.* The best account in English.

W. Walker, *John Calvin.* A very fine biography.

J. Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion.* Several English editions have been published.

H. M. Baird, *History of the Rise of the Huguenots in France,* 2 vols.

A. Lang, *John Knox and the Reformation.*

P. J. Blok, *History of the People of the Netherlands.* Translated by Ruth Putnam. Vol. II.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

J. Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation*, 4 vols. Very scholarly, but marred by Anglican bias.

P. Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, 1558–1795. Excellent.

A. F. Pollard, *Henry VIII*. A biography by one of the greatest historians in England.

J. H. Pollen, *The English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth*.

H. N. Birt, *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement*.

A. Lang, *The Mystery of Mary Stuart*.

PURITANS AND INDEPENDENTS

C. Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters*, 2 vols. A work based on painstaking researches. Very important.

H. W. Clark, *History of English Nonconformity*.

W. Walker, *The Reformation*, chapters VII, VIII. Treats the history of the radical sects on the Continent.

D. Campbell, *The Puritans in Holland, England, and America*, 2 vols. A work containing much valuable information, but also many misleading arguments intended to prove the superiority of the Dutch Puritans over the English.

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION

C. V. Jourdan, *The Movement towards Catholic Reform in the Early Sixteenth Century*, 1496–1536.

P. Smith, *The Age of the Reformation*, chapter VIII.

E. M. Hulme, *Renaissance and Reformation*, book III.

I. Loyola, *Autobiography*, translated by J. F. X. O'Connor.

I. Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, edited by J. Rickaby. Translated from the Spanish.

P. Van Dyke, *Loyola.*

T. A. Hughes, *Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits.*

G. H. Putnam, *The Censorship of the Church of Rome,* 2 vols. A comprehensive account of the Index.

H. C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain,* 4 vols. The result of very extensive research work, and very scholarly; however, the author has been too strongly moved to paint the Inquisition in dark colors.

E. Vacandard, *The Inquisition.*

CHAPTER III

SIXTEENTH CENTURY POLITICS

It has often been said of Christianity that it brought not "peace upon earth, but the sword." The Christians in the sixteenth century certainly did not act as if they were interested primarily in the promotion of peace. One result of the Reformation had been an increased spirit of intolerance. Instead of unity in the Christian Church of western Europe there had come extreme dissension, distrust between different branches, increasing hatred, and open hostility. Hence the name Wars of Religion, which has often been applied to the series of wars waged in France, the Holy Roman Empire, and between Spain on the one hand, and England on the other. It should be noted, however, that the Reformation was not entirely a religious movement, nor was it completely independent of other movements, whether religious, political, social, or economic.

In the sixteenth century people were far more interested in theological questions than Europeans are today. Nevertheless it happened that French Catholics supported German Protestants, Spanish Catholics protected French Huguenots, and a Catholic emperor fought apainst a pope. At no time in history have wars been fought for purely religious, or economic, or political reasons. Human motives and impulses are not normally one-sided. One man may have simple motives, but a whole nation is guided by a variety of factors. A war may be started for one reason and be continued for another.

Politics in the sixteenth century were dominated by the rivalries between the French kings and the Habsburg rulers of Spain, the ascendancy of the Ottoman Empire, the struggle

between Roman Catholics and Protestants, and the rise of two maritime countries,—Holland and England. Much fierce fighting occurred in a great many countries, and there was never a year in the whole century that peace prevailed in all European countries. War was normal in those days, peace abnormal. That such conditions could exist in civilized countries was not the result of the Reformation, nor can it be shown that the Christian churches were responsible. The time had not yet come for a settlement of disputes and rivalries without recourse to war.

Charles V and Francis I

At the opening of the sixteenth century France and Spain were engaged in a bitter contest for the control of Italy. Charles VIII, the French king (1483–1498), in 1494 invaded northern Italy with an army, and although his soldiers marched through the peninsula as far as Naples, he did not accomplish his aim, because Ferdinand of Aragon intervened. Aragon had long possessed Sicily, while Naples had at various times been held by Spanish princes, wherefore Ferdinand was quickly aroused by the ambitions of Charles VIII. French troops were soon driven out of southern and central Italy, and in 1498 it seemed as if France would have to relinquish all Italian territory. But the successor of Charles, King Louis XII (1498–1515), was bent on regaining some of the lost city-states. After six years of military and diplomatic warfare, however, France resigned Naples to Ferdinand (1504); Milan on the other hand remained a bone of contention for several decades to come, until this duchy was also won by the ruler of Spain.

In 1516 Ferdinand, king of Spain, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, and ruler of the Indies, bequeathed his dominions to his grandson Charles, who became Charles I of Spain, and later Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1515 Maximilian of Habsburg, also a grandfather of Charles V, declared Charles

of age and permitted him to take the reins of government in the Netherlands and Franche Comté, or the Free County of Burgundy.[1] In 1519 Maximilian passed away. The election of a new emperor took place in the same year. The two leading candidates were Charles I of Spain and Francis I of France. Both spent a great deal of money in trying to bribe the seven

[1] The Duchy of Burgundy had been annexed to France by Louis XI on the accession of Mary of Burgundy, the wife of Maximilian, and the grandmother of Charles (1477).

electors, but since Charles was a grandson of Maximilian, and prince of the Netherlands, which through the port of Antwerp controlled the bulk of the German trade, Charles was successful. The bankers in Germany for one thing had put more faith in him than in the French king. Furthermore,

Charles was a member of the German house of Habsburg.

Charles V had become the most powerful ruler in the world. His dominions surpassed even those of the celebrated Charlemagne, but so did also the difficulties which confronted him. If only he had inherited one great, compact state his reign would not have been so burdensome as it was. War with France was almost certain, the Turks were approaching Vienna, and in Germany the career of Luther was fraught with another burden for the new emperor.

Perhaps the greatest task before Charles V was the contest

with Francis I, which commenced with the candidature for emperor in 1519 and was not completed till the year 1544, three years before the death of his rival; and even then the peace was but a preparation for another war, this time with the successor of Francis I. There were many causes of these wars. Both Charles and Francis laid claim to Naples and Milan, as well as to that portion of Navarre which had been annexed by Spain in 1512; Charles was determined to recover the duchy of Burgundy, while Francis thought he was entitled to some of the southern provinces in the Netherlands.

The first war broke out in 1521. The imperial forces, assisted by an army sent by the pope, quickly dislodged the French from Milan, which had been conquered by Francis I in 1515. Following up their success by laying siege to Marseilles in southern France, the imperialists were in turn beaten back by Francis I. The French king now committed the error of sending a part of his army to Naples, and went with his weakened forces to Pavia on the Po river, where on February 24, 1525, he was defeated and taken captive. Charles V, who had left Germany in 1521 because of rebellion in Spain, had Francis I imprisoned in Madrid. He was shortly released on condition that he leave his two sons as hostages, marry the emperor's sister, and relinquish all claim to Burgundy, the Netherlands, and Italy. But the moment he entered France, he claimed that any treaty extorted under compulsion was null and void.

In May, 1526, Francis I formed an alliance with Milan, Venice, Florence, and Pope Clement VII, while Henry VIII of England promised at least benevolent neutrality. Lack of coöperation among the Italian allies spelled disaster. The imperial army marched on Rome and entered the city on May 6, 1527. For a period of nine months the pope was helpless, being shut up in the impregnable castle of St. Angelo. The Vatican library was sacked, churches and monasteries were plundered,

and four thousand people massacred. The sack marked the end of the gay Rome of the Renaissance period and the city was never again the same. It is possible that the year 1527 had something to do with the character of the Catholic Reformation: the successors of Clement VII were all of a different type from those who lived in Rome during the end of the Middle Ages. In 1529 the peace of Cambray was signed. Francis paid a ransom for his two sons, gave up all claims to the Netherlands, Naples, and Milan, married the Emperor's sister, but kept the duchy of Burgundy.

Charles was now undisputed master of Italy. He made a trip to the peninsula in 1529, and in the next year was crowned by the pope,—the last time that an emperor of the Holy Roman Empire went through this ceremony. Charles thought that now the time had come for the extermination of Protestantism in the Empire. Unfortunately for him the Turks were appearing before the very gates of Vienna, and Francis I was not yet ready to give up fighting. The French sought allies everywhere, with the Turks, with the German Protestants, not to mention the kings of Scotland, Denmark, and Sweden. Two more wars were fought between the two great rivals, one from 1536 to 1538, the other from 1542 to 1544, but fighting was usually of a desultory nature. After the death of Francis I, his successor Henry II (1547–1559) continued his policy in a war with Charles V, which began in 1552 and continued till 1559. In this war France secured the important bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, while England, now the ally of Spain against France, had to surrender Calais (1558), which was the last bit of territory the English had retained in France.

The Ottoman Empire

One of the greatest difficulties confronted by Charles V was the hostility of the Ottoman Turks, who had become a serious menace to the security of the Habsburg dominions. At the end of the fifteenth century they held the whole of the Balkan peninsula with the exception of Montenegro and Ragusa. They made Constantinople their capital. Their ruler at this time was Mohammed II, a very clever Sultan, who transformed the famous Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople into a Mohammedan mosque, built many other magnificent structures, and compelled thousands of Christians and Moham-

medans to move to Constantinople. The sultan cunningly granted the Greeks religious toleration, and he even went so far as to appoint a patriarch, or leader of the church, who kept alive the dissension between the Greek or Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church.

The various Slavic peoples in the Balkan Peninsula were not all treated in the same manner. The Greeks were rewarded for their industry and intelligence by receiving appointments to some of the more important offices in the government. They were also permitted to buy positions in the Church. The Rumanians were treated somewhat as "allies." They paid a tribute and were compelled to furnish soldiers for the Turkish army, but in return for this they retained their own institutions. The Bulgarians and Serbians on the other hand were reduced to a state of abject submission.

All Christian subjects suffered alike in that they were not allowed to arm themselves, paid unreasonably high taxes, and, until the year 1676, presented a tribute in the form of surrendering their finest boys to the sultan. Every five years the sultan's officials made an inspection throughout the peninsula and selected the strongest and most handsome boys for military training in Constantinople. These boys were then converted to Mohammedanism, and either entered the sultan's guard, or the ranks of the famous Janissaries, the best trained troops of the government.

The greatest of all the sultans was Suleiman the Magnificent, or Suleiman II (1520–1566). He ruled over Syria, the Holy Land, Arabia, part of Mesopotamia, and Egypt. His armies entered Hungary, and in 1526 crushed the Hungarian forces on the field of Mohacs. This battle marked the end of Hungarian independence. Ferdinand, brother of Charles V, named himself king of Hungary, although one third of the country had been occupied by the Turks. The latter pressed steadily on and in 1529 besieged Vienna. The siege, however, lasted

but three weeks, and the Turks were compelled to expand in another direction. They conquered nearly the whole of Hungary, including Budapest, its capital. After this last conquest, the Turks did not threaten Vienna for 153 years. The conquered lands were parceled out to the military leaders, who immediately began to exploit the peasants. A long period of stagnation followed. The Janissaries gradually lost their military prowess. The leading trade routes shifted westward, Constantinople declined, and at the end of the seventeenth century the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire was at hand.

On the seas the Turks were not so easily routed as has often been imagined. Too much emphasis is usually laid on the battle of Lepanto, which was lost by the Turks, but which was by no means decisive. Turkish fleets had repeatedly ravaged the coasts of southern Italy, Sicily, and even the Balearic Islands, near Spain. In 1570 they had wrested the island of Cyprus from the Venetians. The Turkish menace had grown so severe that Pope Pius V thought it necessary to call for another "crusade." Thousands of devout Catholics in Spain and Italy responded to the appeal. A fleet of 208 vessels was fitted out, largely by Genoa and Venice, and Don John of Austria, the half-brother of Philip II, was made admiral of the fleet. In the Gulf of Lepanto, west of Athens, the Turks encountered the Christians. A terrific battle ensued on October 7, 1571, in which nearly the whole of the Turkish fleet was sunk or stranded. However, Venice did not recover Cyprus, and had to pay an indemnity, as did Charles V and Ferdinand in 1547, when they had to recognize the Turkish conquest in Hungary. The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire on land and sea was not noticeable before the end of the seventeenth century. Nearly a hundred years after the battle of Lepanto, the Venetians surrendered Crete to the Turks (1669), and in 1683 the latter stood once more before the gates of Vienna, causing grave apprehension in Italy and Spain.

Spain and the Netherlands

The reign of Charles V brought about a close relationship between Spain and the Netherlands. Charles had been born in Ghent, a Flemish town. In the Netherlands he had received an excellent education. And, although after the year 1521 he preferred to live in Spain, he always regarded the people in the Netherlands with feelings of affection.

Charles was a very capable monarch. His industry and perseverance, when confronted with difficult tasks, made it possible to achieve marked diplomatic successes; but his reign fell in such a critical period that only superhuman powers could have brought success whenever he was balked in his plans and had to retreat. Just when he was about to carry out the Edict of Worms against Martin Luther, he had to rush to Spain in order to repress insurrection. After having successfully terminated four wars with Francis I of France, he became involved in a fifth, which ended so disastrously that he quickly signed the peace of Passau with the German Protestants (1552), and finally abdicated in favor of his son Philip II (1555) and his brother Ferdinand I (1556).

Only in the Netherlands was Charles V able to carry out his plans. The whole country consisted of seventeen provinces, twelve of which had fallen into the hands of Charles's predecessors. Charles himself gained control of five provinces. Even the bishopric of Liège, though nominally independent, was strictly supervised by the central government at Brussels. As long as Charles was ruler, the Netherlands formed a part of the Holy Roman Empire. After his abdication, however, they were governed by the king of Spain, although in theory they remained within the Empire.

Philip II, son of Charles V, and his successor in the Netherlands, had been reared in Spain. Unlike his father he felt little affection for the people in the Low Countries. He was

pleased with their immense wealth, for he needed revenues. He might occasionally express deep interest in the welfare of the inhabitants, but his motives were never altruistic. Philip was a man of strong principles, very loyal to the Catholic Church, and devoted to the cause of Spain, his native land. His two great ambitions were to make Spain the greatest nation in the world and to establish the supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church in as many countries as possible. He was so strongly bent on the realization of these two ambitions that he unflinchingly and relentlessly sacrificed many thousands of human lives. It is not surprising that to the Dutch Protestants he seemed a bloody tyrant and to the Spaniards a beloved hero.

Although Philip worked with tireless energy and indomitable courage in order to raise the power of Spain, he failed in his task. He tried in the first place to strengthen the crown. The Cortes, or parliaments, of Castile and Aragon were deprived of the little power they had retained since the rule of Ferdinand and Isabella. They were merely convoked to approve the levying of taxes proposed by Philip. The king encouraged the nobles to flit about the court rather than fill important offices in the government, which were gradually given to members of the middle class. Philip's aim was to secure a more efficient central government, and in this respect he was guided by comparatively sound principles. But when he enforced the Alcabala, a ten per cent tax on all sales in Spain, he stifled the expansion of industry and commerce. As soon as the Netherlands revolted against him (1567), the revenues from that district rapidly diminished. Equally harmful economically was the persecution of the Jews and the Moors, who formed the most industrious part of the population.

Philip II perhaps never realized that his two great ambitions were at times mutually antagonistic. By his attempts to make the Jews and Moors (or Moriscos) in Spain, and the Protestants in the Netherlands conform to his own religion, he greatly

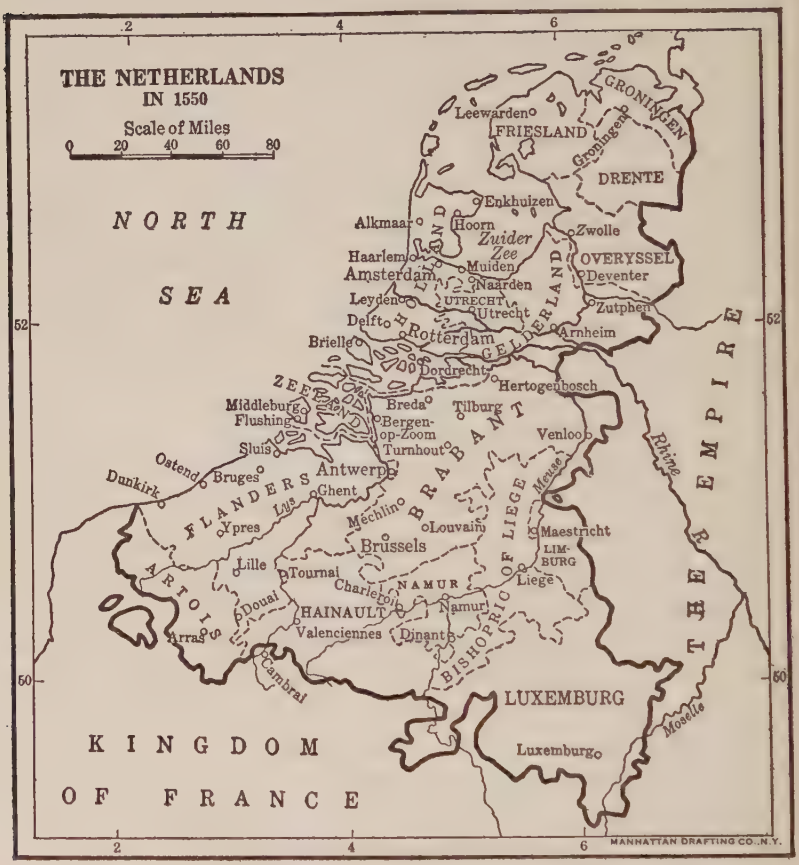
weakened the financial power of Spain. The Moors, after an unsuccessful rebellion, were banished from the fertile valleys of Granada to less promising districts. In 1609 they were exiled from Spain under Philip's successor, Philip III (1598–1621). The attempted extermination of the Protestants in Spain and in the Netherlands harmed the economic resources of Spain even more, since Philip II thereby aroused the Dutch to a desperate war, in which they were at times aided by the English.

There were several reasons why a revolt began in the Netherlands. Philip did not understand the character of the people in this country. Since the year 1559 he never took sufficient interest in them to pay them a visit. The government was left in charge of regents, who were given instructions to crush local autonomy. It was comparatively easy for Philip to deprive his own countrymen of ancient political institutions. But when he attempted to carry out a similar program in the Low Countries, he stirred up a hornet's nest of enormous size. Not even Charles V could have succeeded in such an attempt. Philip was regarded as a foreigner to begin with, and his continued absence betrayed his indifference to the welfare of the inhabitants. To make matters worse, the influential nobles saw Spaniards entrusted with responsible positions. Finally, the heavy taxes imposed by the Spanish government threatened to curtail the development of commerce and industry.

In 1567 a revolt broke out, the opposition to the Spanish government being almost universal. Catholics joined with Protestants, nobles with merchants, in clamoring for reform. But in the course of eleven years (1567–1578) the issues narrowed down largely to that of religion. The ten southern provinces, which had remained almost solidly Catholic, chose to remain loyal to Spain, while those provinces in the north which had become predominantly Calvinistic, such as Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland, fought till the bitter end: defeat or independence. The rural districts in the north remained more or

less apathetic, particularly where the majority of the people were Catholics.

Much has been written about the war which followed the first insurrections. The cruelties of Alva, who was to carry



out Philip's plan in the Netherlands and failed (1567–1573); the heroism of the Dutch people; the thrilling adventures of the "Sea Beggars," or Dutch privateers; the dramatic career of William of Orange, who sacrificed all he had for the cause of Dutch independence, even though he himself was a German; the terrible mutiny of the Spanish army at Antwerp in

1576, followed by one last attempt to unite all the seventeen provinces in opposition to the Spanish government, called the Pacification of Ghent (1576),—all this has been most ably recounted by our great Motley.

In 1578 the ten southern provinces united in the Union of Arras, while in 1579 the seven northern provinces formed a similar union, called Union of Utrecht. After these two unions the southern and northern districts remained separate units, drifting further and further apart. The southern provinces were to remain in the possession of the Habsburg rulers till 1795, first under the Spanish branch, later under the Austrian (after 1713), so that they are known first as the Spanish Netherlands and later as the Austrian Netherlands. The seven provinces in the north won complete independence from Spain in 1648. They formed a separate nation, called the Dutch Republic, or United Netherlands, or United Provinces, or simply Holland, because Holland was by far the most important of the provinces.

In 1581 the representatives of the northern provinces drew up a document which may be termed the Dutch declaration of independence. They no longer recognized the authority of Philip II over their country, and now more earnestly than ever carried on the struggle for independence. William of Orange was assassinated in 1584; Antwerp was seized by the Spaniards in 1585; the Spanish regent Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, redoubled his activities as a great diplomat; and for a time it seemed as if submission would be the end. But the amphibious nature of the country and its inhabitants, the enormous expansion of commerce in the northern provinces with its resultant increase in wealth; together with the assistance of the English and the French, saved the Dutch people. It was sea power, primarily, that saved them. The Dutch emerged from the first period of the war as the leading maritime nation in the world. A truce signed in 1609 granted temporary independence, and, when in 1621 fighting was resumed,

the resistance of Spain on land and sea was quickly broken. In 1648 the Spanish government finally granted unconditional independence.

One cause of the growing power of the Dutch Republic was the conquest of Portugal by Spain in 1580. Philip II was closely related to the reigning family in Portugal. He bribed its leading candidate for the throne, so that he had no royal rival to fear, and sent his army to occupy the country. For sixty years Portugal was a dependency of Spain; its ports were closed to English and Dutch merchants. The latter in particular immediately sent fleets to the Spice Islands to secure the spices which could be sold at enormous profits. The Dutch conquered Java, Borneo, Sumatra, Celebes, and hundreds of lesser islands. The great wealth of the Dutch enabled them to hire mercenaries and construct warships. They captured silver fleets sailing from America to Spain. When in 1588 the Armada was sent by Philip II to conquer England, a Dutch fleet blockaded the ports in Flanders, so that no soldiers could man the Spanish ships which sailed through the English Channel. Dutch sea power was the decisive factor in the war of independence, and Dutch sea power, aided by English sea power, dealt Spain a terrific blow from which it did not soon recover.

Civil and Religious Wars in France

During the second half of the sixteenth century the government of France became involved in a series of civil wars which were mostly fought between the extreme Catholics and the Huguenots. The policy of the government usually was to steer a middle course between the two parties. The Protestants frequently sought the aid of German and English Protestants, and they kept a close watch on the developments in the Low Countries. Their leader was Gaspard de Coligny, often referred to as Admiral Coligny, although he carried on his activities on land rather than at sea. The Catholic party was led by

two brothers, Francis, duke of Guise, the conqueror of Calais; and Charles, archbishop of Rheims, and known as Cardinal of Lorraine. Their sister had married James V of Scotland, the father of Mary Stuart, "Queen of Scots." Hence it naturally happened that, shortly before the death of King Henry II of France, Mary Stuart married the dauphin, or oldest son of the French king. Mary, then, was the niece of the Guises; her husband, King Francis II (1559–1560), was their nephew.

Henry II had inaugurated a new policy in the foreign affairs of France. Whereas his recent predecessors had vainly endeavored to secure a foothold on a large part of the Italian Peninsula, he thought it more fruitful to extend the French frontiers toward the Rhine. In his war with Charles V he had secured Metz, Toul, and Verdun. He had laid the foundation upon which in the next century Richelieu and Louis XIV were to erect a grand scheme of foreign conquests. Henry's religious policies closely resembled those of his father, as well as those of his three sons who succeeded him in France. Although he had married Catherine de' Medici, a member of the illustrious Florentine house which had recently seen two of its sons raised to the papal chair, he was not imbued with that fervor to extend Catholicism so characteristic of the Guises.

When Henry II died in 1559, he left five sons. Three of them ruled as kings of France, namely Francis II, Charles IX (1560–1574), and Henry III (1574–1589). They were the last three kings of the house of Valois, and all three were men of limited ability, dominated by their mother, beset by enemies, surrounded by spies, and preys of civil war. Franics II was only sixteen when he ascended the throne. Shortly after his death, Mary, his wife, returned to Scotland, where she had to face an insurrection of such proportions that seven years later she lost her throne and became an exile in England, and a prisoner of Elizabeth.

Charles IX had a weak character, and led a wretched existence after he and his mother had been conducted to Paris

by Francis of Guise (1562). The latter fully realized that Paris was wholly committed to the cause of the Catholic Reformation. Hence he placed the queen and her son under the strictest surveillance in this city, where they would do his bidding more readily than in their castle at Fontainebleau.

The first civil war broke out in 1562 as the result of an attack by the body-guard of the duke of Guise on a Huguenot congregation worshipping at Vassy. The Huguenots immediately took up arms under Louis of Bourbon, prince of Condé, the younger brother of Anthony of Bourbon, who had married the queen of Navarre. When Condé was killed in 1569, the leadership of the Protestant party passed into the hands of Coligny. In the Catholic ranks a similar process took place when in 1563 Francis of Guise was assassinated and was succeeded by his son Henry. Three wars were concluded within eight years. At the end of the third in 1570 it seemed for a time as if a new era was dawning for France. With Alva taking city after city in the Netherlands, with Spanish power securely intrenched in Italy, with American silver flowing into the coffers of the Spanish government, the French were beginning to ask if it would not be better to unite their forces at home and weaken Spain? A treaty was signed in which the Huguenots were granted freedom of worship, equality of civil rights, and the possession of four cities. They had become a state within a state.

The time had arrived, thought Coligny, to intervene in the Netherlands. He prevailed upon the young king, who even now was but twenty years old, to form plans for an alliance with William of Orange against Philip II. He surrendered the four Huguenot cities to the government to prove his good intentions, and sent his army into the Low Countries. Charles agreed that his sister Margaret was to marry Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, son of Anthony of Bourbon, and a Protestant. But now the Guises became thoroughly alarmed. They told Catherine de' Medici that the Huguenots were plan-

ning to usurp the throne and that the only safe course open to her was to have all the leaders killed. A great massacre was planned. The marriage of Henry and Margaret brought many Huguenot nobles to Paris. Six days after the wedding ceremony, at two o'clock in the morning of August 24, 1572, St. Bartholomew's day, at the ringing of church bells, the massacre began. Several thousand Huguenots were assassinated in Paris and in the provinces. Even Coligny was killed, but Henry of Bourbon escaped through the assistance of Charles IX.

The Huguenots, although greatly weakened, were not yet ready to give up fighting. They derived much encouragement from the failure of Alva in the Netherlands and from the hostility of Queen Elizabeth of England toward Spain. As long as the English and the Dutch grew stronger on the seas there still was hope for Protestantism. After the massacre of St. Bartholomew the Guises found themselves opposed by the moderate Catholic party, which disliked the domineering attitude of the "foreigners" from Lorraine, for Lorraine, the home of the Guises, still belonged to the Holy Roman Empire. The moderate Catholic party was supported by Henry III, who had succeeded Charles IX in 1574; and by Queen Elizabeth of England, who hated Philip II and the Guise family. The Huguenots were in no immediate danger. Three parties were now engaged in civil war: the extreme Catholics under Henry of Guise, the moderate Catholics under Henry III, and the Huguenots under Henry of Bourbon and Navarre.

Every one of the three Henries was assassinated; Henry of Guise in 1588 at the order of the king, Henry III by a monk in 1589, and Henry of Bourbon after he had ruled as king Henry IV of France from 1589 till 1610. It was not until 1594 that the third Henry became the undisputed occupant of the throne. Philip II of Spain, who actively interfered in French politics, suggested that a Spanish princess be elected queen. The extreme Catholic party, having organized a league in 1585 and being in control of Paris, had presented a candidate of

its own whom it styled Charles X, while among the moderate Catholics another candidate appeared. But Henry of Bourbon easily triumphed. In the first place, he declared himself a Roman Catholic (1593), for he realized that the French people would never tolerate a "heretic" upon the throne. This action greatly weakened his opponents. Not only were the people tired of continued civil war, but they grew weary of foreign intervention, and bitterly opposed the threatened violation of the hallowed custom of primogeniture. They wanted no foreigner, and no elective kingship. They knew that Henry of Bourbon, the descendant of Robert, son of Louis IX (1226–1270), was the legitimate heir to the throne. As soon as he announced his conversion to Catholicism, he became the choice of the people.

On March 22, 1594, Henry IV entered Paris, meeting with practically no resistance. The central government of the League in Paris vanished immediately, and the garrison withdrew from the city. It must not be imagined, however, that the king was now master of the kingdom. For four more years he had to keep on suppressing his opponents, while the war with Spain dragged on till 1598. Even the Protestants had resisted Henry. But, when they saw that peace with Spain was about to be signed, they asked for more moderate terms. The agreement with the king speedily followed. Its principles are set forth in the Edict of Nantes (1598), which introduced a greater degree of toleration into France than was enjoyed by other nations for generations to come. But it had been wrested from the king when he was pressed by enemies at home and abroad; public opinion was against it, and the slow manner in which it was registered by the parliaments plainly foretold that a future revocation would be relatively easy.

The following terms of the Edict are worth noting. (1) The Huguenots received control of two hundred towns. (2) They were allowed to hold public worship in these towns and in more than 3000 castles, while in other places they might hold religious assemblies, and worship in private. (3) Protestant

schools were subsidized partly by the government. (4) The Huguenots were given full civil rights.

Henry IV had granted the Huguenots the right to form a "state within a state," for the king's position was still so precarious that he gladly made peace with the Protestants. It must have provoked the Catholics that some of the taxes they paid were used to fortify the Huguenot cities. But Henry brought peace, restored order, reformed the finances, and increased prosperity. His reign proved of inestimable benefit to the French people. Whereas Philip II of Spain squandered the public revenues, embroiled his country in foreign wars, and paralyzed industry and commerce, thus hastening the decline of Spain, Henry IV of France carefully reorganized the finances of the government, concentrated his efforts on the improvements of roads, canals, agriculture, promoted the expansion of commerce and industry, and granted religious toleration to an industrious class of people, who materially aided in restoring prosperity. At the opening of the seventeenth century Spain declined and France advanced. In the next war France was certain to be the victor.

England and Scotland

During the first half of the sixteenth century the English government exercised no preponderant power in the politics of Europe. Henry VIII was assisted by an astute statesman, Thomas Wolsey, who was made archbishop of York (1514), Cardinal (1515), and Lord Chancellor (1515). Wolsey was responsible for a large measure of the success enjoyed by Henry VIII in diplomacy and war. When Emperor Maximilian died in 1519, the English king put forward his candidature. In 1520 he made an alliance with Charles V, who visited England for this purpose. Wolsey favored the emperor's cause, for Charles had a voice in papal elections, and Wolsey had hopes of becoming pope. Charles was, moreover, the nephew

of the English queen, and ruled the Netherlands, the chief market for English wool. But this alliance between Henry VIII and the enemy of Francis I did by no means deter the former from seeking favors of the latter. Early in June, 1520, the two monarchs met near Calais upon the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," where for three weeks they and their retainers indulged in much feasting. Henry, it should be remembered, loved gaiety and could digest an enormous volume of flattery. As for practical results, there were none. In the next year the cardinals elected, not Wolsey, but Adrian of Utrecht, the former tutor of Charles V, and, in the war between Charles V and Francis I, Henry supported the emperor.

It will be recalled that in February, 1525, the imperial forces captured the French king. Now Henry VIII thought he had an excellent opportunity of obtaining some of the fairest of French provinces. In order to secure the required funds for sending an army across the Channel he and Wolsey seized upon the idea of levying a tax on lay and ecclesiastical property, which was charitably called the "Amicable Loan." But the people offered such stubborn resistance that Henry had to relinquish his plan. A truce was signed with France, and for twenty years there was peace.

Relations between England and Scotland were not very friendly at this time. Shortly after Henry's accession the Scotch king James IV had made war on the English, crossing the border in 1513, but was killed on the battlefield. His son James V, unlike Henry VIII of England, allied himself with the Catholic Church and with the French, having twice married French women. War broke out in 1542, but before its conclusion the Scotch king passed away, being survived by Mary Stuart, then a baby one week old. Henry VIII was determined to unite the two countries through the future marriage of his son Edward and Mary, but when Mary grew up she refused him and married Francis, Dauphin of France.

Edward was only ten when his father died. During his

reign of but six years very little attention was paid by his government to foreign affairs, for the all-absorbing issue in England was now the spread of Protestantism. The successor of Edward VI was Mary Tudor (1553–1558), who married Philip II of Spain, and because of her marriage joined Spain in a war against France (1557). The alliance proved fatal in that she could expect no support from her subjects and was responsible for the loss of Calais (1558), which England would naturally have kept in time of peace.

Far more important were the political developments during the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603). One of her first acts was to make peace with France (1559). Seeing how impoverished was the government, she set out on a policy of neutrality, a policy which has often been misunderstood, although it was fairly simple. She knew that her country was poor and could gain nothing from war; she also knew that Philip II of Spain was bent on foreign aggrandizement at the expense primarily of the Protestant peoples. Therefore she only aided the Protestants in the Netherlands when they seemed to be at the point of surrendering, and allowed her privateers to hurt Spain as much as possible without causing a state of real war. As for the Protestants in France and Scotland, she never spent much money nor took great risks in supporting them.

Elizabeth's greatest enemy proved to be Philip II of Spain, who at the opening of her reign had been her suitor, but who not long after he had been rejected by her began to devise plans for the destruction of England. Just as he secretly gave orders to have William of Orange assassinated, in which plan he succeeded, so he promised rewards for the murder of Elizabeth. He paid Jesuit priests to sow sedition in England. He supported Mary Stuart, the queen of Scotland (1542–1567), in her attempts to secure the English throne for herself.

The Scotch queen, however, was singularly unfortunate. Just after she had endeared herself to her subjects by her ju-

dicious rule in a country torn by civil strife, she antagonized many of the influential nobles by marrying her worthless cousin, Henry Darnley (1565). She alienated them still further by marrying the earl of Bothwell shortly after the murder of Darnley, for which murder she was held responsible. This outrageous and scandalous act so infuriated the Scotch that Mary was forced to flee to England and ask Elizabeth for protection (1567). But Elizabeth merely kept her in prison, until in 1587 she was finally executed for treason. Her son, James VI, had succeeded her in Scotland in 1567, and later was to ascend to the throne of England as well.

Elizabeth was able to avoid war with Spain until the assassination of William of Orange (1584), and the capture of Antwerp by the Spaniards (1585). The Dutch in despair appealed to Elizabeth, offering to make her queen of the seven United Netherlands. She was now thoroughly aroused, sent down her favorite, the Earl of Leicester, with some cavalry and infantry forces, and expected to see success attend the exploits of her countrymen. But Leicester was no match for Alexander of Parma, the greatest general of the time. It was not so much on land that England aided the Dutch. The assistance came indirectly through England's great "sea-dogs," like John Hawkins and Francis Drake, who preyed on Spanish shipping and even plundered Spanish colonies.

Although the coming of Leicester did not materially aid the Dutch, it led to a fierce war between Spain and England. After some delay Philip II got ready the greatest fleet Christendom had yet seen. The "Invincible Armada" counted 130 huge ships. It was to sail through the English Channel and convey Parma's splendid army of veterans from Flanders to England. The fleet set sail on July 12, 1588, reached the Channel in safety, was met by the English, who had at their disposal 197 small vessels and destroyed a goodly number of the Spanish ships. Instead of being reinforced by the soldiers of Parma, who were blockaded by a Dutch fleet, the

Armada was compelled to sail into the North Sea, and thence around Scotland. Furious gales sank and stranded a great many more vessels, so that not more than one half of the original number returned to Spain.

The result of this Spanish defeat is usually overestimated. If the army of Parma was unable to conquer the United Netherlands, how could it possibly have taken England, a country five times as large, and separated from the Continent by the sea? Even if the English fleet had been defeated, the Dutch would have given another sea battle, and after their defeat, the Spanish army, by quitting Flanders, would have left the Spanish Netherlands open to attack by the Dutch troops from the north. Just because Philip II indulged in far-fetched expectations, and because the English felt far greater trepidation than was necessary, one need not interpret this one episode as a turning point in history. It is true, however, that the English victory redounded to Elizabeth's glory, justified her policy of careful investments, caused unbounded enthusiasm among the English, and encouraged the Dutch to carry on the struggle with redoubled courage. On the seas Spain grew ever feebler; it never again threatened England, although the war was continued till 1604, one year after the death of Elizabeth, who had laid the foundations for a great era of prosperity in her country, in nearly the same manner as Henry IV was now doing for France.

Northern and Eastern Europe

The sixteenth century produced important political developments in Scandinavia. In 1523 Christian II, king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, was deposed by his own people, after a reign of ten years. The Swedes immediately chose a king of their own, and they chose wisely, for Gustavus Vasa (1523–1560) was a man of great ability, sound judgment, and tireless energy. He not only was successful in introducing a Prot-

estant régime into his country, but greatly increased the royal power and started the nation on the road toward political power. When in 1611 his celebrated grandson, Gustavus Adolphus, ascended the throne, he found it comparatively easy to raise Sweden to the rank of a great power.

In Denmark, Frederick I (1523–1533) was succeeded by his son Christian III (1533–1559), who continued the process of converting the people to Lutheranism, and who resolutely set out to reduce the power of the nobility. He was confronted with a serious insurrection, but in 1536 triumphed over his opponents, and now appropriated the property of the bishops "for the good of the commonwealth." Denmark and Norway remained under the rule of one common king until 1814.

In eastern Europe few significant developments occurred. Russia was still very backward economically and politically. In central Russia was located the tsardom, or grand-duchy of Muscovy with its capital at Moscow. This state steadily extended its boundaries in all directions, the government became more and more autocratic, while the farmers, which constituted nine tenths of the population, were reduced to a state of serfdom. Civilization in Russia was of an oriental type, partly because its form of religion was that which had been introduced from Constantinople through the region north of the Black Sea, and partly because the nature of the country was such that intercourse with Asia was relatively easy, while the conquest by the Turks of the Balkan Peninsula and the territory immediately to the north of the Black Sea, and the occupation of lands east of the Baltic Sea by the Swedes made it difficult for the Russians to expand westward. Another cause was the previous subjection of the Russians to the Mongols and Tartars of central Asia.

At the end of the fifteenth century the way for the making of a great state was paved by Ivan III (1462–1505), who delivered Muscovy from Tartar control, unified the various districts, and greatly enlarged Muscovy. The grandson of

Ivan III, who was called "Ivan the Terrible," or Ivan IV (1533–1584), continued the policy of conquest. Particularly to the southeast the boundaries were rapidly pushed backward. The warlike Cossacks, a class of frontiersmen in southern Russia, proved of inestimable service to Ivan. In 1580 a group of Cossacks crossed the Ural Mountains, and entered Siberia. During the next eight decades the Russians advanced further and further, until by the year 1660 they finally occupied the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

Contact with western civilization assumed fairly large proportions after the first English explorers entered the country in 1553. Jealous of Portuguese supremacy in the Malay Archipelago, the English, and later the Dutch, sought to reach the Indian Ocean by way of the Arctic, north of Siberia. Two English captains, little realizing the nature of Arctic regions, landed on the shores of the White Sea in northern Russia. They were warmly welcomed by the government of Ivan IV, for Ivan was anxious to get in touch with the West. So the English founded a trading company, called Muscovy Company, and soon large numbers of English and Scotch merchants began to trade with the Russians. At the end of the century, however, the Dutch made more energetic advances, and secured practically a monopoly of the Russian trade.

Ivan IV tried to mold the Russian government after the oriental pattern. He became an absolute monarch, reduced the power of the nobility, and, instead of seeking to advance the prosperity and liberty of the farmers, caused most of them to become serfs. One of his successors, named Boris Gudanov, made the head of the Russian church independent of the patriarch of Constantinople. At the opening of the seventeenth century a period of anarchy followed, which is usually referred to as the "Troublous Times." Order was finally restored when in 1613 the leading nobles elected as the new tsar, Michael Romanov. A new period in Russian history was reached when at the end of the century Michael's illustrious

descendant, Peter the Great, took over the reins of government and made Russia a state of the first rank.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Charles V and Francis I

A. H. Johnson, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century,* chapters II–IV.

M. A. S. Hume, *Spain,* chapter I.

A. J. Grant, *The French Monarchy,* vol. I.

G. B. Adams, *The Growth of the French Nation,* pp. 136–159.

G. W. Kitchin, *A History of France,* vol. II, pp. 169-219. A very detailed treatment distinguished by an excellent style and a masterful presentation of the subject matter.

E. Armstrong, *Charles V.* The best biography in English.

The Ottoman Empire

E. R. Turner, *Europe,* 1450–1789, chapter III.

F. Schevill, *History of the Balkan Peninsula.*

A. H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent.* Describes the political conditions in the Ottoman Empire during the height of its power.

Spain and the Netherlands

C. E. Chapman, *The History of Spain.* An authoritative account, being largely based on the best history of Spain in Spanish (by Altamira).

M. A. S. Hume, *Philip II of Spain.*

M. A. S. Hume, *Spain.* A very interesting account.

P. J. Blok, *History of the People of the Netherlands,* vol. II. This is the best work on the history of the Netherlands. The translation, however, is not altogether satisfactory.

G. Edmundson, *History of Holland,* chapters III–VI. These chapters make better reading than the account by Blok. They are equally trustworthy.

R. Putnam, *William the Silent,* 2 vols. A very good biography.

J. L. Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic.* Brilliantly written and stimulating. Many parts of it still remain a reliable source of information. Especially useful is the introduction.

The Religious Wars in France

J. W. Thompson, *The Wars of Religion in France.*

G. B. Adams, *The Growth of the French Nation,* pp. 160–179. Very useful for supplementary reading.

G. W. Kitchin, *A History of France,* vol. II, pp. 291–395.

L. Batiffol, *The Century of the Renaissance in France,* translated from the French by E. F. Buckley.

C. C. Jackson, *The Last of the Valois,* vol. I.

England and Scotland

A. L. Cross, *A Shorter History of England and Greater Britain,* chapters XIX–XXVI.

E. P. Cheyney, *A Shorter History of England,* chapters XII, XIII. This volume presents a very simple account of intricate political developments.

M. Creighton, *Queen Elizabeth.* An excellent biography; according to many authorities, the best one in any language.

P. H. Brown, *Scotland in the Time of Queen Mary.*

R. S. Rait, *Mary Queen of Scots.* Scholarly and authentic.

Northern and Eastern Europe

R. N. Bain, *Scandinavia.*

H. H. Boyesen, *Norway.*

K. Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People,* vol. I.

V. O. Kliuchevsky, *A History of Russia,* vols. I and II. Translated by C. J. Hogarth. Comprehensive and scholarly.

W. R. A. Morfill, *Russia.*

W. R. A. Morfill, *Poland.*

A. Vámbéry, *The Story of Hungary.*

CHAPTER IV

THE DUTCH REPUBLIC AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

It is not customary for students of history to associate the rise of the Dutch Republic with the history of the Thirty Years' War. The four periods into which this war is commonly and properly divided are the Bohemian, Danish, Swedish, and French or International, but there is no Dutch period, and properly so. Perhaps it may seem a mere coincidence that at the end of the war in 1648 the Dutch were officially granted their independence by the Emperor and by the Spanish government. A careful study of political developments in the first half of the seventeenth century will reveal, however, that Holland played an important rôle in the Thirty Years' War.

The influence of sea power in history is now being fully appreciated by most historians. We know that England and Holland, because of their sea power, greatly weakened Spain in the reign of Philip II, and France in the reign of Louis XIV. We also know that Napoleon failed because he lacked sea power, and that Germany lost in the recent war for a similar reason. But is it also known that the Thirty Years' War was greatly affected by the influence of sea power? In order to comprehend the outcome of this war, one should first of all bear carefully in mind how closely related during this war were the Habsburg emperors who fought the Bohemian, Danish, and Swedish Protestants, and the Spanish kings, of the same Habsburg house, who fought the Dutch Protestants. In the second place one should keep a close watch on naval developments.

Wars are not entirely decided on battlefields. No amount of bravery, no army of any size can accomplish great things without equipment and adequate resources behind the front. In the history of the Dutch Republic two clearly distinguished epochs stand forth as eminently noteworthy. First comes the terrific struggle on native soil to dislodge the Spanish armies, accompanied by almost superhuman exploits on the sea. This epoch abounds in thrilling incidents, but, surprising though it may seem, is less important than the next one, the period from 1600 to 1650, when the Dutch were achieving things on a much grander scale.

The Dutch Republic

After the return of Leicester to England (1587) and the defeat of the Armada (1588), many great battles were fought on sea and land. There was for example the battle of Turnhout in 1597, where 2500 Spaniards fell and only eight soldiers of the Dutch forces. William of Orange had been succeeded by his son Maurice, a ruler less widely known but far more capable as a general. His military tactics rendered his army so famous that thousands of foreigners flocked to him either for instruction or for employment. After the death of Maurice in 1625 his policy was ably continued by his brother Frederick Henry, who surpassed Maurice as a statesman, equalled him as a military commander, and won great fame for his skilful siege-operations.

On the seas the Dutch were even more successful than on land. Led by Admiral Tromp, the Dutch fleet constantly harassed the Spaniards. The latter finally determined to make one supreme effort to end the naval supremacy of the Dutch. They sent the largest fleet which had left Spain since the defeat of the Armada, consisting of 77 vessels, carrying 24,000 sailors and soldiers, who were commanded, not by so inexperienced an admiral as led the Armada, but by the veteran

Oquendo. The fleet arrived in the Channel in September, 1639, and was sighted on the 16th by Tromp, who, with a boldness verging on recklessness, attacked it with 13 ships. So fiercely did the Dutch sailors fight that the Spaniards sought refuge on the English coast near Dover. Meanwhile reinforcements were received by Tromp, who blockaded the Spaniards until a chance of battle should arise. Finally the Dutch admiral had 105 small vessels at his disposal. When he saw that the Spaniards refused to give battle, being sheltered by the English coast and protected by an English fleet, Tromp finally gave orders to a vice-admiral to watch the English with 30 ships, and then he bore down upon the Spaniards. The combat was very one-sided. Only seven Spanish vessels escaped in a fog. All the others were sunk, stranded, or captured, and, whereas the Dutch lost but 100 men killed and wounded, about 15,000 Spaniards perished. When the news reached Charles I of England, he was considerably irritated at both Spaniards and Dutch, for the former had sought shelter in English waters without asking permission, and the latter had destroyed the fleet of a friendly power in the presence of an English fleet. He would no doubt have declared war on Holland if he had had the necessary funds.

Both Charles I (1625–1649) and his father, James I (1603–1625), had plenty of grievances against the Dutch. During the reign of James the Dutch fishermen continued to fish near the coasts of England and Scotland, according to an old agreement between England and the Netherlands. When James finally prohibited this and sent officials to tax the Dutch, the latter took the officials to Holland, whereupon James grew furious, but remained impotent. In Russia the English merchants had been supplanted by the Dutch, in Java they had been dislodged, in the Baltic Sea the Dutch controlled about three fourths of the trade, and in America their colony of New Netherland [1] formed

[1] The name New Netherlands, however, used formerly by Americans, is at least as good as that of New Netherland. Since the English equivalent

a wedge between the English colonies, which might prove a serious menace, in case the Dutch should ally themselves with the French. It was particularly annoying to the English to see a goodly share of their own commerce carried on by Dutch

merchants, while on the Continent four fifths of the carrying trade was in the hands of the Dutch.

Holland had become a nation of the first rank. Its sailors and merchants had built up a magnificent empire, of which New Netherland was considered but an insignificant part. There

of the Dutch name *Nederland* is the Netherlands, the translation of Nieuw Nederland is New Netherlands.

160
120
80
40
80
60
40
20
0
20
40
60
GREENLAND
Smith Sound (1616)
Baffin Bay (1616)
Davis Strait (1585-87)
Hudson Bay (1610)
Frobisher Bay (1578)
Quebec (1608)
Montreal (1642)
NEWFOUNDLAND (1623)
St. Johns
Boston
Port Royal (1604)
NEW AMSTERDAM
NEW YORK (1624)
Jamestown
VIRGINIA (1587)
BERMUDAS
NEW ALBION
Santa Fe
ST. BARBARA I. (1602)
LOWER CALIFORNIA (1533)
NEW SPAIN
Guadalajara
BAHAMAS
CUBA
HONDURAS
SPANISH MAIN
GUADELOUPE
MARTINIQUE
BARBADOS
ATLANTIC
PACIFIC
OCEAN
SANDWICH IS (1667)
Nombre de Dios (1509)
Surinam (1630-67)
Cayenne (1664)
S. Luis (Fr. 1612 Port. 1615)
DUTCH BRAZIL 1624-54
Quito (1534)
Orellana (1541)
Lima (1535)
Cuzco (1538)
Arica (1578)
PARAGUAY
BRAZIL
Rio de Janeiro (1567)
Santiago (1541)
URUGUAY
Sacramento (1680)
Buenos Aires (1535-1573)
Valdivia
CHILE
Pt. S. Julian (Drake 1578)
FALKLAND IS. (1592)
St. of Magellan
C. Horn
MARQUESAS (1593)
TAHITI
UNITED KINGDOM
PORTUGAL
AZORES
MADEIRA
CANARIES
C. VERDE IS.
Gores (1618)
ST. HELENA (Br. 1651)
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO. N.Y.

THE WORLD
1580-1660

Spanish
Portuguese
Dutch
English
French
Russian
Ottoman Empire

were the great Spice Islands in the East Indian Archipelago, Brazil in South America (1624–1654), the colony of the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, founded in 1651, Guiana in South America; and the possibility existed of securing Australia, which was at this time called New Holland, while south-east of this continent was New Zealand, named after the province of Zeeland. In Japan the Dutch merchants were so tactful that after 1642 they were the only Europeans allowed to trade there until the nineteenth century.

In contrast with the ten southern provinces, now called the Spanish Netherlands, where once the cities of Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp teemed with thousands of prosperous burghers, and in which grass was now growing in the principal streets, the United Netherlands witnessed such an outburst of commercial and industrial activity as the world had never seen before. Amsterdam from 1585 till 1650 was the greatest seaport in the world, while Haarlem and Leyden supported industries of astonishing proportions. Dutch agriculture led in scientific progress; Dutch scientists and mathematicians were unsurpassed everywhere; the University of Leyden was undisputably the foremost center of learning in Protestant Europe; while the Dutch painters, led by Rembrandt and Ruysdael and Hobbema, as a school knew no superiors.

From Spain and Portugal came hundreds of exiled Jews, from Germany came Calvinists, from France, Huguenots, from England, Puritans and Pilgrim Fathers. Spinoza, who by many authorities is considered the greatest philosopher of the seventeenth century, was born in Amsterdam, the son of Portuguese Jews, and was content to spend his whole life in Holland. Descartes, another important philosopher, found a congenial home in Holland, and it was here that he wrote his greatest works on philosophy and mathematics.

It is not generally known that Christian Huyghens (1629–1695) was a scientist who ranks with Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, and Darwin. He devised the laws of the motion of the

center of gravity, the conservation of energy, and the undulatory theory of light. He invented the micrometer, discovered the rings and satellites around Saturn, and solved the problems of the theory of numbers, the calculation of chances, and the squaring of the circle. He was the first to produce a pendulum clock, and constructed a curious machine, called the gunpowder machine, which was in some respects a predecessor of the steam engine.

Dutch cartographers were easily the most renowned in the world. The Elzevier presses of Leyden and Amsterdam won a high reputation for accuracy and beautiful type. The bank of Amsterdam was regarded as one of the most marvelous institutions in the world. Its huge stores of precious metals caused worldwide comment. Even in distant Poland the farmers accepted only Dutch coins for their grain. The Dutch East India Company was actually a combination of several smaller companies founded before 1600. Therefore it preceded the English East India Company, and may rightly be considered the model after which the leading trading companies of the seventeenth century were patterned. Its capital in 1602 was $2,500,000 or eighteen times as large as that of its English rival. This was the reason why the English were unable to maintain a hold on the East Indian islands, which during the first three decades of the seventeenth century were considered the most valuable colonies in the world.

There was one field, however, in which the Dutch made very mediocre contributions. Their political institutions, in spite of the words of praise bestowed on them by some American writers, were most complicated, and seemingly most impractical. When peace was declared in 1648, the seven provinces were styled "free and independent states"; they formed a loose union of semi-sovereign states, bound together by war against Spain, but in time of peace lacking in efficient coöperation because a strongly centralized government was not wanted. The provinces were ruled by a *stadhouder,* who at first had little

executive power, but gradually usurped more until at the end of the century a person like William III had almost royal prerogatives. The *stadhouder* was in theory merely a servant or official of the States-General, which consisted of representatives of the various provincial estates. The number of representatives varied according to the importance of each province. There was also another official upon whom great duties devolved, namely the Advocate or Pensionary of the province of Holland. Before 1672 he exercised enormous influence. The most notable one was John de Witt, who was in power during the minority of William III (1650–1672). There were many other branches of the government, however, which due to the lack of a written constitution frequently had overlapping powers.

Although the Dutch failed to produce great political institutions, they rendered compensation in their contributions to the shaping of international law. One of their scholars has in fact often been named the "father of international law." This was Hugo Grotius, or Huig de Groot, a man of genius, who excelled in jurisprudence, theology, philosophy, and diplomacy. His celebrated treatise, *De Jure Belli et Pacis,* or *On the Law of War and Peace,* has for three hundred years been a standard text in international law. Great commotion was caused by his *Mare Liberum,* or *The Free Seas,* in which he attacked the Portuguese claim to exclusive rights of trading in the Indian Ocean, but which the English government took as an answer to the assertion, frequently made by the English king, that England was mistress of the seas surrounding Great Britain. Hence James I in 1609 issued a decree forbidding foreign fishermen to fish near the English coast, with results as were told above.

In short, Holland from 1600 to 1650 was one of the richest countries in the world; led in many branches of industry, in theology, mathematics, and science; possessed a group of painters scarcely inferior to the Italian school; and ruled the sea.

"Her material and spiritual power, her tolerance and freedom, became the envy of the whole world."

The Thirty Years' War

The war between Spain and Holland (1568–1648) and the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), although they had been caused by a variety of factors, were nevertheless to a considerable degree a mere phase of the struggle between the forces of the Catholic Reformation, now on the offensive, and the Protestants who were endeavoring to maintain their hold on the districts they had recently won. The peace of Augsburg (1555) proved to be scarcely more than a truce, for its terms were constantly being violated by men who left the Church and were loath to relinquish the opulence enjoyed by them as bishops and abbots. Many a member of the clergy in the Holy Roman Empire, after having become a Protestant, secularized the church lands which he had formerly controlled, although the peace of Augsburg had been signed to prevent such actions. Furthermore, the number of Calvinists in Germany had greatly increased since the year 1555. Some of the princes, like the influential Elector Palatine of the Rhine, had embraced Calvinism, and they naturally contended that the peace of 1555 should be revised, inasmuch as it had not granted toleration to Calvinists.

The Catholics on the other hand, encouraged by the successes of the Jesuits in Bavaria, Poland, and the southern Netherlands, felt that the peace had been signed at a time when the Emperor had been harassed by both French and Turks, and that the Protestants had received terms altogether too favorable. So they boldly began to use every means at their disposal to win back at least some of the states which were now largely Protestant. Particularly in southern Germany they became very aggressive, much to the alarm of the Protestants, who finally formed a league called the Protestant Union (1608), in which

the Calvinists played a leading rôle. One year later the Catholics organized the League, with Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, at the head. The Lutheran princes in the north, having benefited the most from the peace of Augsburg, took no action.

It frequently happens that leagues and alliances inevitably lead up to wars. Such was the case in the Holy Roman Empire, where tense feeling fanned the flames of religious strife. An occasion was soon forthcoming. Emperor Rudolph II (1576–1612) had witnessed the formation of the two hostile alliances shortly before he passed away. The next emperor was Matthias (1612–1619), a strange character, who showed little interest in politics and religion. His reign proved satisfactory to the majority of the German princes, since their conception of an ideal emperor was a man of little power who chose not to meddle in the domestic policies of the empire.

Many of the German princes would have been pleased if Matthias could have enjoyed a long reign. But in 1617 it became apparent that the childless emperor was doomed to die an early death, wherefore he tried to have his cousin Ferdinand elected emperor, even before he himself passed away. The latter was crowned ruler of Austria (1617), while the nobles of Bohemia conferred upon him the hereditary kingship. It was not long, however, before the Bohemian nobles regretted their action, for the new king was a Catholic who devotedly supported his church, and who, like Philip II of Spain, wanted to secure absolute power for himself, besides the opportunity of promoting the cause of the Catholic Reformation.

Bohemia had always enjoyed a fairly large degree of independence in the Empire. Since the time of Hus it had harbored many thousands of heretics. The "Bohemian Brethren," followers of Hus, seceded from the Roman Catholic Church, while a large and influential group of reformers, resembling the Puritans in the Anglican Church, had wrung important concessions from the Church. Many of the nobles had become Protestants; finally, in 1609, they had secured a royal charter granting re-

ligious toleration to Protestants. But, unlike the Edict of Nantes, which had ended religious strife in France, this charter merely gave rise to disputes and animosity. When the Protestant nobles sent a petition to Ferdinand and learned that he had refused to grant their requests, they took a drastic step. On May 23, 1618, they entered the royal palace in Prague, seized two of the imperial regents, and hurled them into a moat, sixty feet below. The latter almost miraculously escaped injury, but the "defenestration" was the beginning of a civil war.

The country was now ruled by thirty directors, chosen by the Protestants. An army was raised, but, strange to say, the cities of Bohemia refused to pay taxes for the support of the army. At first it seemed, however, as if the Protestants would throw off the yoke of Habsburg dominion. Their leader marched on Vienna, and in June appeared at its gates. Just at that moment an imperial army appeared, the Protestants quickly departed, one of their armies was destroyed, and the siege of an important Bohemian city raised.

In August, 1619, occurred the imperial election. The Elector Palatine of the Rhine, the son-in-law of James I of England, received the vote for Bohemia, having been elected king of Bohemia by the Protestants. He himself could cast one vote for the Palatinate, the elector of Saxony was a Lutheran, and the margrave of Brandenburg a Calvinist; the latter, in order to gain the support of the Dutch in his attempt to secure some lands on the lower Rhine, had given up his Lutheran faith. Four of the electors, therefore, were Protestants. They could easily have prevented the choice of the Habsburg candidate. But John George, elector of Saxony, was jealous of Frederick V of the Palatinate, because the latter had become the head of the Protestant Union. He voted for Ferdinand, who was thus elected in August, 1619, although ten days earlier he had been deposed as king of Bohemia.

In the contest between Ferdinand II and Frederick V, the

Protestant Union and the Catholic League took active part. Maximilian of Bavaria aided the Emperor, but only on condition that he become one of the electors in place of Frederick. The elector of Saxony likewise supported the Emperor. Frederick, on the other hand, was unable to obtain assistance from any of the important states. Both his father-in-law and the Lutheran princes held aloof, little realizing how much was at stake. The English government had, in fact, reversed the policy of Queen Elizabeth, and was at this time on friendly terms with Spain, which implied the same relations with the Habsburg emperor.

Several statesmen had warned Frederick against the intrepid course he was about to pursue, but he was so confident of support from outside that he paid no heed. On November 4, 1619, he was crowned king of Bohemia. During the campaign of 1620 the Lutheran princes maintained strict neutrality, for they had been promised the preservation of the peace of Augsburg by Maximilian of Bavaria. Tilly, the commander of the Catholic forces, entered Bohemia, while Silesia, which had promised support to Bavaria, was subjugated by the elector of Saxony. The Spanish sent an army which occupied the Palatinate, the Protestant forces were defeated near Prague, on the White Mountain, and Frederick V had to flee from Bohemia and find refuge with the Dutch, who alone were carrying on a consistent policy against Spain.

The defeat of the Protestants in Bohemia had far-reaching results. Ferdinand II tore up the Royal Charter of 1609, had the rebellious nobles imprisoned, executed, or exiled; confiscated three fourths of their estates, and replaced the Bohemian nobility by conferring titles and possessions on subservient Catholics, many of whom came from Germany, Spain, and Italy. The lesser Protestants were forced to recant and Jesuits were invited to teach the principles of the Catholic faith to their children. Bohemia was now simply one unit in the immense domain of the Habsburg emperor. It remained such

till the end of the Great War in 1918. In 1621 the Protestant Union was dissolved; from 1621 to 1623 practically the whole of the Palatinate was seized by the Spaniards, and the electorate was transferred to Bavaria. Except in the Netherlands, fighting had almost completely ceased.

The second period in the Thirty Years' War is called the Danish period (1625–1630), because Christian IV of Denmark played a leading rôle in it. He had intervened not so much to save Protestantism, as to extend the political power of his country and of his family. He had illegally secured two bishoprics in northern Germany for one of his sons, and was trying to hold them. No doubt he was also alarmed at the aggressive attitude of the Catholics, for, if they should win a complete victory, he might lose the church lands appropriated by the crown.

The English government also supported the German Protestants. Whereas James I had refused to aid his own son-in-law in 1619, because he did not wish to offend the Spanish, in 1623 he and his son Charles discovered what had been known by many others long before, namely that the Spaniards merely used the marriage negotiations of Charles, the suitor of a Spanish princess, to prevent James I from helping Frederick V and the Bohemian Protestants. In 1624 the English, therefore, declared war on Spain and in 1625 they made an alliance with Denmark and several princes of northwestern Germany. However, the English navy could accomplish nothing and the money promised by James I to the Danes was not forthcoming.

The Catholic forces might have done no better, if at this time a great general had not appeared, in the person of Wallenstein, to brace them. Wallenstein was a man of uncanny powers, who resembled Napoleon in that he believed in "his lucky star," and had the personal magnetism to attract to himself thousands of adventurers who were glad to risk their lives in his service. He was the younger son of a Bohemian family

which, although poor, was of noble rank. He hated foreign intervention and believed that the Emperor was the only ruler who could stabilize conditions in the Empire. He agreed to raise an army for Ferdinand II, asking no rewards, except the privilege of having his troops share in the spoils of war. By the fall of 1625 he had assembled an army of 50,000 men.

Both Tilly, the general of the League, and Wallenstein achieved great victories. The most decisive was won in the battle of Lutter in 1627, where Tilly defeated the Danes, and, assisted by Wallenstein, drove them back into their own country. Dutch sea power prevented the imperial forces from conquering Denmark, and Wallenstein, after a siege of five months, was compelled to withdraw from Stralsund, an important port on the Baltic Sea. The Danish king quickly sued for peace, however, which was signed in 1629 at Lübeck. Christian IV gave up all claim to German lands; the Emperor was supreme in Germany, the Catholics were again victorious, and the English still apathetic.

Ferdinand II now issued, at the demand of the League, the Edict of Restitution (1629), restoring to the Catholic Church all the lands it had lost since the peace of Augsburg (1555). The archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, 12 bishoprics, and 120 smaller districts were taken away from Protestant owners, who had been in possession of these lands for a period of about seventy years. This act aroused many of the Protestant rulers to frenzy. Even the margrave of Brandenburg, who in 1628 had supported the Emperor in driving out the foreign troops, now became neutral, while the Lutheran princes, hitherto unaffected by the defeat of the Calvinists and the Danes, began to take a lively interest in developments. Wallenstein was very strongly opposed to the edict and he refused to enforce it in the districts where his army, now numbering 100,000 men, were in control. When in 1630 the Diet of Regensburg met, the Emperor was informed by the League that, if he retained Wal-

lenstein, they would refuse to support him any longer. Ferdinand again complied with their wishes and dismissed Wallenstein.

The dismissal occurred at a critical time. Along the shores of the Baltic a great Protestant general was advancing into Germany, after having conquered Ingria, Carelia, and Livonia. This general was Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, member of the illustrious house of Vasa (1523–1718). In 1628 his country had made an alliance with Denmark, which stipulated that only Dutch ships would be allowed to enter the Baltic Sea, while in 1629 he had sent 2000 men to defend Stralsund. One year later he himself landed on German soil with an army of 13,000 men. If Wallenstein could have been employed against him before Wallenstein's huge army had been disbanded, it might have changed the course of the war. But for a year the Swedish king met with no great resistance; it was his intervention that has caused the name Swedish period to be applied to the third phase of the Thirty Years' War (1630–1635).

Gustavus Adolphus was more than a mere military genius. He was far-sighted enough to know that victory depended largely on resources behind the lines of battle. Early in his reign he had welcomed a Dutch financier, named Louis de Geer, who received a sort of mortgage on the Swedish iron deposits in return for a loan. The king gave the Dutch financial wizard free rein to develop the mining industry of Sweden, with the result that he not only obtained the money he sorely needed, but abundant ammunition as well. This was one reason why he had stipulated that only Dutch ships were to be allowed in the Baltic Sea. Dutch sea power and money helped to carry him across the Baltic into Russia and Germany.

In the year 1630 the Swedish army made little progress, due to the opposition of Brandenburg. But when the news reached

the elector in 1631 that the great city of Magdeburg had been sacked by Tilly's army, amidst scenes of indescribable crime and bloodshed, the ruler of Brandenburg finally consented to let the Swedish troops march across his country. The elector of Saxony likewise aided the Swedes, and so did several other Lutheran princes. Gustavus Adolphus was further assisted by the French, who agreed to subsidize him on condition that he keep 36,000 men under arms.

Tilly was the first to feel the effect of the new order of things. At Breitenfeld, near Leipsic, he met with a decisive defeat (September, 1631). From Saxony the victorious Gustavus Adolphus marched southwest to the Rhine, and could easily have taken the three archbishoprics of Cologne, Trier, and Mainz; but Richelieu, the French cardinal, who did not wish to see Catholic archbishops molested in the present struggle, persuaded the Swedish king to turn elsewhere. The latter moved eastward into Bavaria, where on the Lech he once more defeated Tilly (April, 1632). Among the killed was the Catholic general himself, so that Ferdinand II saw no other recourse than the recall of Wallenstein.

When Wallenstein had been dismissed by the Emperor, he had retired with little rancor in his heart. Even before his great campaigns he had become the richest man in Bohemia, and held all the German princes in contempt. In Prague, the Bohemian capital, he had a hundred houses removed to make room for his courtyard. On his travels he went in more than imperial splendor, being accompanied by so many attendants that they required a hundred wagons, each drawn by four horses. He had consulted an Italian astrologer, who assured him that his great career would soon be renewed, and now, in 1632, the opportunity had come! On November 17, 1632, he met Gustavus Adolphus. After much manœuvring the two great rivals fought a battle at Lützen. Again the army of Gustavus triumphed, but this time the king was killed. Now

followed two years of desultory fighting. The Swedes had lost their source of inspiration, while the Emperor distrusted Wallenstein, who was assassinated early in 1634.

The next year peace was signed at Prague between Ferdinand II and the majority of the German princes who had assisted Gustavus Adolphus. The peace of Augsburg was reaffirmed, and the Protestants were allowed to keep all the church lands which they had possessed in 1627, or two years before the Edict of Restitution. The French, the Swedes, and three German princes decided to keep on fighting, but the Swedes ceased to play an important part in the last thirteen years of the war.

The fourth period lasted almost as long as the first three combined (1635–1648), and is usually called the French period, because the chief ally of the Protestants in Germany was France. From 1624 to 1642 the French government was dominated by the foreign policy of Richelieu, whose main ambition was to make the house of Bourbon and France supreme in Europe. Although he was a cardinal, he did not hesitate to ally himself with German and Dutch Protestants in order to achieve his aim. After 1642 his policy was continued by Mazarin, another great French minister.

As early as the year 1632 the royal council in Madrid decided to declare war on France if Ferdinand II would coöperate. But the latter hardly knew what to do. The Pope distrusted the Habsburgs and disliked the Spaniards; his nuncio in Vienna advised Ferdinand to ally himself with France and suppress heresy in Germany, while the papal counselors in Vienna urged him to crush Richelieu. The Emperor might as well have told his kinsman, the king of Spain, to declare war on France immediately, for war broke out in 1635, the aggressive now having been taken by France. In the same year the French made an offensive and defensive alliance with the Dutch, which had an important bearing on the outcome of the war. It may seem a curious fact that Denmark once more participated in the war, this time on the side of the Emperor (1643–1645); but, when

the Dutch sent a fleet of 50 warships and 300 merchant vessels, the Danes quickly came to terms.

For several years the struggle on land was far from decisive. Although Richelieu put an army of more than 100,000 men into the field, the Spanish were still as resourceful as ever. What France needed was able commanders, and these were not secured till about 1640. Richelieu materially weakened Spain by stirring up a revolt in Portugal, which resulted in the separation of Spain and Portugal (1640). He hired a German mercenary army, commanded by a skilful general. Finally two great generals appeared within the ranks of the French themselves. They were Condé and Turenne. The former won a decisive victory at Rocroi (1643), the latter carried the war into Bavaria. After 1643 the military superiority of the French was established.

Long before the end of the war the German princes had expressed a desire for peace, while the Emperor, the Swedes, and the Dutch were ready to end the war as early as the year 1641. But when the diplomats met in Münster and Osnabrück, the two leading cities of Westphalia, it took four years to come to an agreement. At last the peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648. France refused to make peace with Spain, but came to terms with the Emperor. Its alliance with Holland stipulated that the two countries were to conquer the Spanish Netherlands and divide them before they were to sign a treaty with Spain. But in 1648 the Dutch were beginning to feel worried about the growing power of France, while the city of Amsterdam, fearing the revival of Antwerp, which had a better port and a better location, refused to consent to the annexation by the Dutch of that city. The selfish policy of the merchants of Amsterdam was to have momentous results. Instead of an alliance between the first military and the first naval power in Europe, which in 1648 could easily have seized the Spanish Netherlands and have developed a huge empire in Asia and America, there was to be distrust and finally war,

enabling England to defeat first the Dutch and later the French.

France secured Alsace, except Strassburg, retained the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and received a vote in the Diet of the Holy Roman Empire, as did Sweden, her ally. Sweden also obtained West Pomerania and the former archbishopric of Bremen, controlling the mouths of the Weser and Elbe. Brandenburg was rewarded for its assistance to Sweden by receiving eastern Pomerania and Magdeburg, besides some bishoprics. The Palatinate was divided between the son of Frederick V and the duke of Bavaria, each receiving the title of elector, which raised the number of electors in the Empire from seven to eight. All the German princes were left free to make war or peace without consulting the Emperor. In other words, the Empire was now no more than a loose confederation of sovereign states, ruled nominally by an emperor. Finally, Holland and Switzerland were declared independent of the Empire. In a separate treaty at Münster the Dutch were officially recognized as an independent state by Spain. A permanent settlement was made in regard to the religious problems in the Empire. The Calvinists were placed on an equal footing with Lutherans, and all church property remained in the hands of those who possessed it in 1624.

The only good that the Thirty Years' War seems to have done for Germany was to settle the religious difficulties. Aside from that it was in many respects the most terrible war in modern times. Whereas at the beginning of the war Germany counted eighteen million souls, thirty years later there were but six millions left. Almost everywhere the fields had been devastated, cattle stolen, houses destroyed, commerce paralyzed. The huge armies which crossed the country time and again had a ruinous effect on man and beast. In contrast with armies of our time, they made their own way, so to speak. The soldiers quartered themselves in the homes of the natives, appropriated the cattle and the crops for themselves, ransacked the homes

EUROPE
IN 1648
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300
Spanish Dominions
Austrian Dominions
Brandenburg-Prussia
Swedish Dominions
Church Lands
Boundary of the Empire
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
NORTH SEA
IRELAND
Dublin
Cork
York
WALES
ENGLAND
London
Plymouth
Portsmouth
Amsterdam
Hamburg
UNITED PROVINCES
The Hague
Breda
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Rocroi
Cologne
HESSE
Brest
Paris
Verdun
LORRAINE
Nantes
Richelieu
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
Lyons
SAVOY
PIEDMONT
Bordeaux
San Sebastian
Santander
Toulouse
AVIGNON
Genoa
Oporto
Douro
Ebro
LANGUEDOC
Marseilles
CATALONIA
CORSICA
To Genoa
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Madrid
Lisbon
Tagus
ARAGON
Barcelona
BALEARIC IS.
Spain
SARDINIA
Spain
Valencia
Guadalquivir
Cartagena
MEDITE
Cadiz
GIBRALTAR
Tangier
(Port.)
Ceuta
(Spain)
ALGIERS
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO., N.Y.
20
10
0
50
40

20
40
50
SWEDEN
ristiania
Stockholm
BALTIC SEA
ESTHONIA
INGRIA
RUSSIA
Moscow
GOTHLAND
LIVONIA
Riga
Smolensk
SCANIA
Copenhagen
LITHUANIA
MERANIA
Danzig
WEST PRUSSIA
Vistula
Warsaw
POLAND
50
Kiev
Dnieper
Breitenfeld
SAXONY
Lützen
Dresden
SILESIA
Lemberg
Prague
Cracow
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
JEDISTAN
CRIMEA
Munich
STYRIA
Buda Pest
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
BESSA RABIA
WALLACHIA
BLACK SEA
Venice
BOSNIA
Belgrade
Danube
Varna
SERVIA
OTTOMAN
Zara (Venice)
Spalato
Adrianople
Constantinople
ADRIATIC
MONTENEGRO
Ragusa (Venice)
Cattaro (Venice)
40
Rome
Salonica
EMPIRE
Naples
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Spain
AEGEAN SEA
Smyrna
IONIAN IS.
GREECE
Athens
Palermo
SICILY
CRETE
(To Venice)
MALTA
SEA
20
30

of the wealthy, and set fire to villages and towns which had offered resistance. The average army of 20,000 men would be followed by about 50,000 retainers, such as old men, women, and children. The progress of an army was somewhat like that of a swarm of locusts in South Africa; it meant certain destruction to crops, and besides that a number of attendant evils, including unspeakable crime and vice. Descartes, who had served in an army himself, said that "idleness and debauchery were the chief motives" which impelled men to enter military service. No wonder that it took Germany more than a century to recover from the economic, political, and moral losses sustained in this terrible war!

At the same time the Dutch were emerging from their Eighty Years' War with Spain as the first naval power in the world, as one of the most opulent nations in Europe, as leaders in agriculture, commerce, industry, science, literature, and art. If it had not been for Dutch money and naval prestige, the Protestants would probably have been completely and permanently defeated in the Holy Roman Empire. That the elector of Brandenburg, for example, could obtain valuable districts after having done practically no fighting, was largely due to the friendship of the Dutch, to whom he was related by marriage. That Sweden, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, was able to annex the mouths of the Oder, Elbe, and Weser, was by no means entirely the result of French military power. The Baltic Sea had become nearly as much a Dutch lake as a Swedish lake. So strong was Dutch sea power on the Baltic that eleven years after the treaty of Westphalia, the Dutch compelled Sweden to cease hostilities and to come to terms with Denmark and the elector of Brandenburg. It is usually understood that French and English diplomacy brought about this result, but all the available evidence points to the effect of the destruction of the Swedish fleet and the blockade of the Swedish ports by the Dutch, as will be shown in a following chapter.

SUGGESTED READINGS

THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

P. J. Blok, *A History of the People of the Netherlands,* vols. II and III.

G. Edmundson, *History of Holland,* chapters XI–XIX. This volume presents by far the best brief account of the history of the Dutch Republic in English. It is exceptionally reliable, more so than any other English work, and rivals Dutch text-books in accuracy.

G. Edmundson, *Anglo-Dutch Rivalry in the first half of the 17th Century.*

W. C. Abbott, *Expansion of Europe,* vol. I, chapters XVII, XVIII, XX.

C. Day, *A History of Commerce,* chapter XX.

H. C. Morris, *A History of Colonization,* vol. I, part III, chapters VII, VIII.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

S. R. Gardiner, *The Thirty Years' War.* This work contains a useful introductory chapter on the causes of the war and political institutions in Germany. Very readable and trustworthy.

E. F. Henderson, *Short History of Germany,* vol. I, chapters IX–XV. A stimulating account.

H. O. Wakeman, *The Ascendancy of France,* chapters IV–VI. Detailed, but interesting.

C. R. L. Fletcher, *Gustavus Adolphus.* A popular biography.

CHAPTER V

THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE

During the third and fourth periods of the Thirty Years' War it had become apparent that France was supplanting Spain as the leading political power in Europe. At the opening of the sixteenth century France had just emerged from a long series of devastating wars with England, while the four wars with Charles V, followed by eight civil and religious wars, left the country in a sorry plight. It became therefore the policy of the French monarchs and their great ministers in the seventeenth century to restore and then to maintain order; to promote the growth of scientific agriculture, of industry, and of commerce; and to husband the finances of the government, so that the monarch could equip large armies and fleets with which to win fair provinces in Europe and markets abroad.

Henry IV and Sully

The two men who ended civil war and restored the broken power of France were King Henry IV (1589–1610) and his minister, the duke of Sully. The two were of a very different temperament, and yet worked together harmoniously. Henry IV was gay and affable, handsome and strong; kind to his subjects, and deeply interested in their welfare. Sully was a Huguenot, less vivacious than Henry, more stern, often jealous and apt to burst into a fit of anger. Both the king and his minister were very economical. Sully, who was minister of finances, reformed the collecting of taxes, and reduced expendi-

tures, so that between 1600 and 1610 he saved ten million livres.[1]

Since Sully believed that land was the chief source of wealth, he did a great deal to promote scientific agriculture. In southwestern France large swamps were drained, and a system of canals was planned to connect the most important rivers. Bridges were repaired, roads improved, taxes on farming pursuits lessened, and the nobles were forbidden to hunt where crops were growing. Mulberry trees were brought to central France in order to give rise to the silk industry, which later assumed great proportions, particularly at Lyons. The manufacture of glass-ware and pottery was encouraged. A beginning was made of colonization in America and Asia; it was at this time that Champlain appeared in North America to lay the foundations of "New France."

The king, in fostering the growth of commerce and industry, perpetuated the policy of the great monarchs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, who aimed to make the middle class or *bourgeoisie* more powerful, and to weaken the nobility. The policies of Henry IV were in reality much more selfish than they appeared on the surface. He had twice been converted to Catholicism, the first time to save his life, the second time to secure the crown. He realized that a prosperous middle class, grateful to the king, would result in more autocratic power for himself. He therefore experienced little difficulty in limiting the powers of the governors in the provinces and of the *parlements;* the latter were important law courts and were becoming conscious of their growing importance. The burghers in the cities, rejoiced by the return of prosperity, did not seriously object to the close supervision of municipal elections by the king; few complained about the extension of the judicial power of the government at the expense of the municipal courts.

[1] A livre was the equivalent of a franc, but was really worth about two dollars in our present system of values.

In 1610 the king was assassinated. His widow, Marie de' Medici, became regent for her son, Louis XIII (1610–1643), who was only nine years old. The queen-regent foolishly dismissed Sully, and wrongly imagined that she was capable of carrying on the task of her late husband. The Huguenots hated her because of her devotion to the Catholic Church; the nobles were alienated by her, and her subservient friends weakened her position because of their indolence and extravagance. Within four years the surplus saved by Henry IV and Sully had disappeared.

Marie de' Medici now convened the Estates-General (1614). This body resembled the English Parliament, for it consisted of representatives of the three classes or estates, the clergy, the nobles, and the commons; hence the name Estates-General, which should be clearly differentiated from that of *Parlement*. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Estates-General had lost a great deal of power, because the kings had been able to get along without convoking it, except in emergencies. There were other reasons why the institution, unlike Parliament in England, had lost prestige. It was still divided into three bodies, while the English had reduced the number to two. The estates were mutually hostile, and the first and second estates despised the third, representing the *bourgeois,* or middle class, while the latter estate was hated in turn by the peasants. In short, the Estates-General did not represent the people, and the privileged classes refused to tax themselves. Hence the session in 1614 lasted but three weeks and naturally accomplished nothing. There was to be no other session till the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. How different was the history of Parliament in England!

Richelieu and Mazarin

Ten years of disorder followed the meeting of the Estates-General. The queen-regent and the young king were both in-

capable of keeping a firm hand on the reins of government. Not until 1624, with the coming of Richelieu, did the central government regain control. And even after Louis XIII had reached maturity it was Richelieu, the minister, who ruled, rather than Louis XIII, the king. Richelieu had won the favor of Marie de' Medici, who gave him a seat in the royal council and, through the influence of her family in Italy, had him nominated cardinal. In 1624 he became the real head of the French government and retained his power until his death in 1642.

His two main ambitions were, as told above, to increase the royal power in France and to make France supreme in Europe. To this task he devoted all his talents, his indomitable will, his suave diplomacy, his keen intellect, and his stubborn powers of resistance. The obstacles in his way were the political power of the Huguenots and of the nobles, and the prestige of the Habsburg house in Spain and the Empire. The removal of these three obstacles therefore constituted his achievement.

The Huguenots, in Richelieu's opinion, had no right to form a "state within a state." If only they had been careful not to abuse their privileges, he might not have taken drastic action, but, when they supported England in a war against France and interfered with a campaign in Italy, he decided to subdue them. In 1625 he laid siege to La Rochelle, their principal stronghold. He closed the mouth of the harbor by a dike, and, in spite of assistance from the English, who appeared when the harbor was closed, he finally captured the city. In 1629 he modified the Edict of Nantes by depriving the Huguenots of their right to fortify their cities and to hold assemblies.

His next object was to lessen the power of the nobility. Their castles were dismantled; every act of disloyalty to the government was punished by execution, imprisonment, or exile; the armed retainers were taken away; the supervision of the provinces was given to men of the middle class. Richelieu naturally ignored the institution called Estates-General. He or-

ganized a large royal army, and, in order to increase the powers of the central government still further, he instituted a new class of officials, the *intendants*. The governors in the provinces, most of whom were of noble birth, did not lose their office, but nevertheless saw their power diminished, because the *intendants*, appointed from the middle class or *bourgeoisie*, and each in charge of a district called *généralité*, supervised the levying of taxes, the work of the police, and the administration of justice. There were usually thirty-four *intendants*. Due to their energetic supervision, they were later called the "Thirty Tyrants."

In the preceding chapter an account was given of Richelieu's intervention in the Thirty Years' War, and it was stated that at his death his policy was continued by Mazarin. The latter was a protégé of Richelieu, just as Richelieu was of Marie de' Medici. He was an Italian and never learned to speak French without a strong accent, but he became devoted to the cause of Richelieu. Like his master, he became a cardinal, and he occupied nearly the same position in France as did Richelieu, although he encountered much stronger opposition from the nobles and the *parlements*.

The nobles disliked him because of his foreign birth, his deceitful tactics, and his avarice. They believed that a civil war might cause the overthrow of the central government organized under Richelieu. From the king they had little to fear. The civil war which soon broke out is commonly called the *Fronde*, named after a children's game in Paris; a sort of playing at civil war, causing mischief to grownups who were passing by. The name applied to the real civil war was used in derision by Mazarin and the widow of Louis XIII, Anne of Austria.

The war began in 1648, when the *Parlement* of Paris, the most important of the thirteen chief law courts in France, complained of the excessive taxes being levied by the government. The *Parlement* of Paris had the right of registering

royal decrees, for this body of eminent lawyers alone could tell whether the king's new edicts would harmonize with older laws; consequently they were to examine the former before entering them upon the statute books. The *parlement* therefore assumed the privilege of suggesting changes in the proposed edicts, and, if these changes were not made by the king, they refused to register the edicts. Louix XIII and his son tried to intimidate the *Parlement* of Paris by appearing before the justices, seated upon cushions, which action was styled the holding of a "bed of justice."

But in 1648 the *parlement* refused to be cowed any longer. Encouraged by the sympathy displayed by the people of Paris and by the success of Parliament in England, it declared the levying of taxes illegal unless authorized by the *parlement* itself and gave orders to have the intendants removed. Mazarin was at first unable to suppress the insurrection in Paris, because the war in the Empire had not yet been terminated; but, as soon as the soldiers returned from Germany, he compelled the *parlement* to withdraw its demands. A little later a second civil war broke out, started this time by some of the greatest nobles, who were commanded by the prince of Condé. Again the prime minister was successful in suppressing rebellion, so that Condé had to flee to Spain. The result of the *Fronde* was to weaken the *Parlement* of Paris, and to place the nobility and the city of Paris more than ever at the mercy of the king.

Mazarin was also successful in continuing the war against Spain. He secured the assistance of England by ceding Dunkirk in French Flanders to the English. Spain was decisively defeated, and in 1659 signed the Peace of the Pyrenees with France, in which it made the following concessions: Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV (1621–1665), was to marry Louis XIV and to renounce all claim to the Spanish crown on condition that a large dowry be paid to Louis XIV; Roussillon, a province just north of the Pyrenees, and Artois, in the Spanish Netherlands, were ceded to France. The French

agreed to pardon Condé and reinstated him in the French service.

Louis XIV

Many contradictory reports have come down to us regarding the character of Louis XIV (1643–1715). It was said that he could scarcely read and write, that his stupidity and conceit, his bad morals, and his short-sighted diplomacy made his reign one of the most disastrous in the history of France. Other writers lauded him as a brilliant statesman, a man of great learning and uncommon sagacity, a benefactor to France, a veritable demi-god. We know that he was stupid and capricious and conceited, but he had been properly educated, was very industrious, and occasionally evinced appreciation of the fine arts and of sound scholarship, while at times his diplomacy was unsurpassed.

In 1661 Louis XIV decided to be his own prime minister. He kept his great ministers, but allowed none of them to approach the king in executive power. Bossuet, his preacher at court, told him repeatedly that Providence meant him to be the greatest figure in all Europe. Bossuet taught the idea of "divine right" monarchy, that is, a monarchy by the will of God, in which the monarch is not responsible to the people but to God alone. This idea was not new. James I of England believed in it implicitly, and so did many rulers of his time. It was Louis XIV, however, who carried the idea to an extreme. He took his kingship very seriously, spending five hours a day in hard labor, signing documents and doing all sorts of routine work. So regular were his hours that by the aid of an almanac one could frequently tell the time of day from his acts. The best work of his great ministers was in his opinion simply a reflection of his own illumined mind and his fruitful labors.

As a matter of fact, the king inherited his best ministers, who belonged mostly to the two great families of Colbert and Lou-

vois; on their death he usually replaced them by inferior officials. The famous Colbert was already in office during the ministry of Mazarin.

The king had no sense of humor, welcomed flattery, and possessed but a modicum of human affection. Maria Theresa, who died in 1683, confessed that she had enjoyed only twenty days of happiness during her twenty-four years of married life.

The king, who recalled the insurrection in Paris during the *Fronde,* and disliked the Parisian populace, spent most of his time in Versailles, a town located about twelve miles from the capital, today one of its suburbs. The castle at Versailles was his summer residence before 1660, but after this year his visits were more frequent. From 1669 to 1710 a long process of reconstruction transformed the summer residence into a grand palace, while the Trianon, a miniature palace, was completed in 1688. Versailles became the court of France, the most splendid center of court life in Europe, the model after which many rulers patterned theirs. French manners, fashions, architecture, drama, sculpture, and painting set the standard on the Continent. Louis XIV had become the "Sun-king."

Life was gay at Versailles. The nobles were encouraged to come to the capital, where they were segregrated and rendered impotent. They were excluded from administrative offices, and received titular positions at court. They took part in the ceremonies, but spent the rest of their time in frivolous social activities; there was for example the Grand Chamberlain, who presented the king with his shirt each morning. In order to weaken the nobles still further, the king increased their number; thus "diluting" the nobility, so to speak.

There were several reasons why Louis XIV could transform his government into an autocracy. The French people had tried on several occasions to secure a representative government, but each time the result had been a civil war and economic ruin. A strong central government seemed to imply order and

prosperity. Louis XIV probably was the embodiment of what most Frenchmen thought a great king should be. The king was served by great ministers, feared by all his neighbors, envied by most monarchs; he exalted French civilization and extended the frontiers of France. The larger issues, which the future was to delineate only too plainly, could not be grasped now by the people. Hence the king experienced little difficulty in relegating the Estates-General to oblivion; in forbidding the *Parlement* of Paris to make any remonstrance until the royal edicts were registered; in squandering immense sums of money; in depriving the provinces and the cities of most of their liberties.

The reign of Louis XIV was the golden age in French literature. Corneille, Racine, and Molière wrote plays which were read all over Europe, and which are still very popular. The splendor of the court attracted artists and musicians. Scientists flocked to Paris; skilled workmen from Venice arrived to teach the French how to make glass-ware; Dutch textile workers introduced new industries; roads were constructed, bridges repaired, canals made wider; everywhere the hand of prosperity transformed the life of the French people.

Much of this was due to Colbert. After Mazarin's death he was appointed to various offices, including that of minister of finance, marine, and the colonies. He resembled Sully in trying to promote order and peace, reform the finance, check expenditures, aid the farmers, build up industry and commerce, and improve communications between the provinces. One of the evils Colbert corrected was that of "farming the taxes." The government allowed certain individuals and corporations the right to "farm" taxes in return for a lump sum of money paid to the government by these individuals, who naturally tried to get as much for themselves as possible, and always at the expense of the people. Colbert had more honest agents appointed. He also succeeded in lowering the land tax, or *taille,* levied on the peasants.

In 1667 Colbert complained about the poor condition in which he found French foreign trade, for nine tenths of it was controlled by the Dutch. Hence he subsidized French shipping and industry, taxed foreign vessels, prohibited the exportation of raw materials, such as wool and flax, laid a high tariff on the importation of finished products, restored old manufactures, created new ones, sought new markets abroad, encouraged colonization, introduced a standard of sizes and weights for textiles, and issued comprehensive regulations concerning wages, apprenticeships, contracts, bankruptcy, and so forth. Notable was the marked revival of the linen, leather, and silk industries; also the manufacture of fine tapestries. But equally notable was the terrible decline after 1672, when Colbert had lost power and the king, against his advice, embarked upon a policy of conquest which was to spell financial ruin for France.

Colbert is usually called a "mercantilist." He believed that the wealth of nations depended largely on the amount of precious metals possessed by them. His attempt to expand industry and commerce was part of his system of mercantilism. He also increased the navy, reconstructed the port of Toulon, and fortified Brest and Calais. Ship-building was subsidized, seamen were drafted and trading companies founded. Colbert also fostered colonial trade and encouraged emigration to Louisiana and Canada.

This great minister lost the king's favor in 1671, because Louis chose to listen to Louvois, his war minister, rather than to Colbert. Louvois despised the Dutch and English merchants. He saw little glory in overseas expansion. His aim was to annex territory to the north and east of France, and to make France the greatest military power of the time. He was partly successful, for his two great generals, Condé and Turenne, achieved great victories, while Vauban, the greatest military engineer of the century, constructed impregnable fortifications on the frontiers. Louvois himself contributed to their successes

by introducing the custom of rhythmic marching, and improving sanitation in the camps. France gained rich provinces, but later lost Canada, Louisiana, and India. The savings so carefully collected by Colbert were squandered, but the king was satisfied.

It may seem surprising that in a period of fifty-four years of personal rule (1661–1715) Louis XIV was never confronted with a serious rebellion. Did the French people, unlike the English, perhaps have no real desire for self-government, or did they fear their king so greatly that they did not dare to rebel? The answer is not difficult to seek. The "Grand Monarch" usually did what pleased the majority of his subjects.

Take for example the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. All historians agree that this act proved disastrous for France. And yet it satisfied the vast majority of the French people. The French Church had remained loyal to the papacy, but it had insisted on certain national rights, called "Gallican Liberties." The French government still enforced the Concordat of 1516. Some of the extreme loyalists favored a revision of the Concordat in favor of the pope. They were called "Ultramontanists," because they looked across the mountains (the Alps) to Rome for absolute power over the French Church. The Gallicans on the other hand wished to keep the pope's power restricted; they believed in an independent national church. Both parties, however, were bitterly opposed to the Huguenots, and also to the Jansenists, a group of mystical reformers, who were named after the great Dutch theologian Jansen. They were the Puritans in the French church, and believed in the Augustinian doctrine of predestination and justification by faith. Pascal and some other great writers and scholars belonged to the Jansenists. But they were even less numerous than the Huguenots.

Louis XIV decided to revoke the Edict of Nantes, because he wished to crush what he and his friends regarded as heresy. For several years he had persecuted the Huguenots in various

ways, but when in 1684 he secretly married Madame de Maintenon, who was a zealous follower of the Ultramontanists, he decided to take more drastic action. He had been informed that Protestantism was nearly extinct in France and hoped that the remaining Huguenots would quickly recant. The Huguenots were now deprived of all civil rights and of the opportunity of free worship. Only a few agreed to adopt Catholicism, and nearly four hundred thousand left the country. About one fourth of this number went to England, Holland, and Germany respectively. They were nearly all skilled workmen and professional men, accompanied by desirable families. Large numbers went to the English Colonies in America and to Cape Colony in South Africa, which was a Dutch settlement. They took an enormous amount of capital with them, and their departure was a great blow to the economic resources of France. Nevertheless the king's action was approved by nine tenths of the population.

Extension of the Frontiers

Louis XIV asserted that France should have all the territory north and east to the Rhine and the Alps, and south to the Pyrenees. In 1659 he had secured Roussillon, thus extending the French border to the Pyrenees. His next step was to try to annex the Spanish Netherlands and possibly a portion of the Dutch Republic, besides Lorraine and the Rhenish province in Germany. In order to gain his ends, he fought three costly wars, which did result in conquest, but proved ruinous in other ways.

The first of the three is called the War of Devolution (1667). The object was the seizure of the Spanish Netherlands, where in one of the ten provinces the custom of "devolution" prevailed, according to which the children of a first marriage inherited property to the exclusion of all the children of all subsequent marriages. Louis XIV now endeavored to apply this

custom to the first marriage of Philip IV of Spain, whose eldest daughter he had married in 1659. Philip IV had a son, King Charles II (1665–1700), who was the offspring of a later marriage. Hence, reasoned Louis, Charles was not entitled to the Spanish Netherlands. The pretext was more than flimsy; it was ridiculous; but Louis attempted to annex the Spanish Netherlands (1667). The English and the Dutch were engaged in a terrific trade war (1665–1667), and could not prevent the conquest. However, the war ended in 1667, and soon after the conclusion John de Witt, virtual ruler of Holland, formed an alliance with England and Sweden to restore the balance of power (1668). Louis XIV was compelled to withdraw. In the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668), he secured the possession of only a few cities on the frontier.

To have his grand plans frustrated by "that nation of frogs and cheese-makers" was more than the vain monarch could stand. The king and Colbert had frequently thought of plans to appropriate some of the trade enjoyed by the Dutch. Jealousy, anger, and religious motives all combined to make the king hate the Dutch. With a cunning worthier of a greater cause he persuaded Charles II of England (1660–1685) to break away from the Triple Alliance of 1668. In the secret treaty of Dover (1670) the English king promised to declare war on Holland and to become a Roman Catholic on condition that Louis XIV pay him a handsome subsidy. Sweden was likewise bribed to forsake its ally. In 1672 both France and England made war on Holland. They were assisted by the bishop of Münster and the archbishop of Cologne.

Louvois had carefully planned the campaign. The invasion of Holland seemed almost like a triumphal procession. It so happened that the Dutch were in the midst of a civil war, and had neglected to organize an army for national defense. But when they cut the dykes, flooded part of their country, and made William III, of the house of Orange, their ruler, their resistance was sufficient for the saving of Amsterdam. The

Dutch fleets, commanded by Admiral de Ruyter, performed nobly, and in 1673 one of them even captured New York. The English made peace in 1674, and more than that,—an alliance which lasted nearly a century. The German enemies were forced to retreat, while the elector of Brandenburg and Emperor Leopold made an offensive alliance with Holland. Spain and several German states joined a little later. Louis XIV again was balked, but again he gained some territory. When France offered favorable terms of peace in 1678, the Dutch deserted their Spanish allies, and the treaty was signed at Nymegen. Holland lost nothing, but Spain had to surrender Franche Comté to the French.

Little did Louis XIV realize what a costly blunder he had made in antagonizing both the English and the Dutch peoples. It was not the strength of the Dutch fleet that impelled the English to make peace with Holland, but the fact that they were not pleased to learn of the treaty of Dover. Their king had become the subservient tool of a Catholic monarch! The Dutch were after all Protestants, like the English. If they agreed to let the English colonize the whole of North America and India, they would be friends, not rivals. The real enemy of England was France. So the English and Dutch were henceforth to fight side by side on land and sea for three generations, and it was during that very period that the foundations of the British Empire were laid. The duel for naval and colonial supremacy was decided in England's favor when the English allied with the Dutch in 1674.

That was the reason why Colbert had warned Louis XIV against his plan of annexation to the north, and, after his rival Louvois had ousted him, he lived to see the decline of his industries, and the checking of French commercial expansion. His aim had been to ruin Dutch commerce by peaceful rivalry, by tariffs and regulation. He knew that the resources of Holland, compared with those of France, were negligible. All France had to do was to develop its own resources. Further-

more, an alliance with Holland was perfectly possible. There had been two such alliances before; one in 1635, the other in 1662. Colbert did not completely comprehend the significance of colonial developments, and he was not consistent in his attitude toward the Dutch, but his policy usually was sound.

Louis XIV now had the satisfaction of being the most feared monarch in Europe. Blinded by the glory of victory on the battlefield and by further extension of the frontiers, he disregarded the welfare of his people, and ignored the great issues of the future. The conquests, though costly, merely whetted his appetite. He observed that the territories obtained in 1648 and 1659 had been ceded "with their dependencies." It now became his task to discover what these dependencies were. In medieval times many of the newly acquired districts actually had had dependencies, for they had exercised suzerainty over less important feudal holdings. Hence the French king sought to revive the old feudal ties, and for this purpose he appointed a number of judges who were to constitute a few select courts, called "Chambers of Reunion," for they would reunite the new provinces with their former dependencies. France secured in this illegal way ten districts, including twenty important cities, such as Strassburg and Luxemburg. French armies promptly seized those territories.

The Emperor, Leopold I, as soon as he discovered that most of the annexed districts were taken from the Holy Roman Empire, formed an alliance with Spain, Sweden, and several leading princes of his Empire (1686). Two years later Louis XIV sent an army to occupy the Rhenish Palatinate, part of which lay beyond the Rhine. Another war broke out, which is often called the War of the League of Augsburg, as the alliance of the Emperor was signed at Augsburg. Some writers call it the Nine Years' War, because it lasted from 1688 to 1697. The latter term is more fitting, because nearly all the fighting against Louis XIV was done by the English and the Dutch. In American history it is known as King William's War.

At the opening of the conflict Louis XIV made the mistake of occupying the Palatinate and Cologne, enabling William III, stadhouder of Holland, to land in England with an army and occupy the English throne, which in the opinion of Louis XIV would result in civil war. The English people had invited William, because they were disgusted with James II (1685–1688), whose elder daughter, Mary, had been married to William of Orange. William's father, William II of Holland, had married the daughter of Charles I, and Charles I was the father of James II, so that the latter was both the cousin and the father-in-law of William III. The Dutch ruler was the most dangerous enemy of Louis XIV. Although he was often defeated by the French armies, he almost always managed to render the French victories fruitless. On the sea the French were at first successful, for Colbert had increased the navy from 50 ships to nearly 300. In 1692, however, the French sustained a decisive defeat at La Hogue. James II was defeated in Ireland by the army of William of Orange (1690).[1] Hence the name Orangemen, applied to the Protestants of northern Ireland, and to their descendants in America.

In 1697 all the combatants were anxious for peace. It was signed at Ryswick, a little town near the Hague in Holland. Louis XIV kept Strassburg, acknowledged William III as king of England, and granted the Dutch a favorable commercial treaty.

The Spanish Succession

It must have seemed most humiliating to the Grand Monarch to see his plans frustrated three times in succession by the Dutch, and to send his diplomats twice to the little republic to sue for peace. The second time, however, he did not stop long to reflect on his disappointments, since developments in

[1] This battle was fought on the south bank of the River Boyne, and was therefore called the Battle of the Boyne.

Spain were beginning to direct his attention southward. The feeble Charles II was doomed to die shortly, leaving no children. Since Louis XIV had married the elder sister of Charles,

and the Emperor the younger sister, both men laid claim to the Spanish throne. The English and the Dutch looked on with alarm, for they did not wish to see either of the two annex Spain and its many possessions, and thus destroy the "balance of power." Partition treaties were made by William III, but none of them suited all parties. At last the Spanish king

died, stipulating that Philip, the grandson of Louis XIV, should succeed him. For a moment Louis hesitated, but the temptation to unite France and Spain was too great. He joyfully kissed Philip, and the Spanish ambassador exclaimed, "The Pyrenees exist no more!"

With the Spanish colonies in the hands of the French Bourbons, the English and Dutch merchants feared that trade would be less easy for them; the Spanish government would no doubt grant a monopoly to French and Spanish merchants. Consequently William III formed the Grand Alliance for his two countries with Emperor Leopold and several important German states, including Brandenburg-Prussia. Later Portugal and Savoy were induced to join. In 1702 the War of the Spanish Succession broke out. William III died in 1702, but a greater general than he was placed in command of the English and Dutch troops. This was the duke of Marlborough, who in 1704 won the battle of Blenheim. Another great commander in the allied ranks was Prince Eugene of Savoy, who drove the French out of Italy. Between 1706 and 1709 Marlborough dislodged the French from the fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands. Gibraltar was taken by the English and Dutch fleets, and for a time it seemed as if France would collapse. But the French and Spanish rallied to save the Grand Monarch. A political change in England and the death of the Emperor caused the allies to grow lukewarm.

The great victories of Marlborough were largely offset by the overthrow of the ministry in England, which resulted in the retirement of Marlborough himself and in a desire for peace with France. Furthermore, the death of Emperor Joseph in 1711 was followed by the accession of Archduke Charles, later known as Emperor Charles VI, who had been the candidate for the Spanish throne. When English and Dutch diplomats learned of these important developments in Austria, they reasoned that Spain in the hands of a Habsburg emperor would not be easy to dominate, and that the trade with the

Spanish colonies might slip away from the English and Dutch merchants. Hence the allied powers suddenly became more lenient with Louis XIV; they were ready to sign terms which in 1709 they would certainly not have granted to the imperious king of France.

When peace was signed at Utrecht, Rastadt, and Baden (1713–1714, and usually called simply the Treaty of Utrecht), Louis XIV had the satisfaction of seeing his grandson acknowledged by the allies as king of Spain, though on condition that the crowns of Spain and France should never be united. The son of Emperor Leopold, the former archduke Charles, who since 1711 had been Emperor himself, was compensated for the loss of the Spanish throne by obtaining the Spanish Netherlands (which were henceforth named the Austrian Netherlands), Milan, Naples, and Sardinia.[1] England received Gibraltar and Minorca from Spain; and Newfoundland, Acadia, and Hudson Bay territory from France. The Dutch obtained permission to garrison "barrier fortresses" in the southern Netherlands. Savoy secured Sicily, and was raised to the status of a kingdom; Brandenburg-Prussia was recognized as the Kingdom of Prussia.

The Treaty of Utrecht greatly changed the map of Europe, and marked the further decline of Spain. Another power which was now rapidly declining was Holland. When England was convulsed with civil war, Germany ruined and impoverished, France slowly recovering from religious and civil strife, the Dutch were able to maintain the rank of a first-rate power. But after 1650 Holland struggled against overwhelming odds. Exhausted by three wars against England and four wars against France, hampered by lack of area and resources, the tiny republic was certain to sink to a much lower level than it attained from 1590 to 1650. France might have taken the place held formerly by the Dutch, but the king, supported seemingly by the majority of his subjects, concentrated his activities on

[1] In 1720 Austria exchanged Sardinia for Sicily.

conquest on the Continent. Hence England now found the stage fully prepared for the development of commerce and industry, and the building of a great empire beyond the seas.

The Regency

Louis XIV passed away in the year 1715 after a reign of seventy-two years. Before his death he had seen the death of his oldest son and of two of his grandsons, while a third, the duke of Anjou, by accepting the Spanish throne as Philip V, had forfeited his right to succession in France. Hence the grandson of the *Dauphin,*[1] the great-grandson of Louis XIV, became the heir to the throne, and, although in 1715 he was but five years old, his reign dated from the death of the Grand Monarch.

Louis XV did not take over the reins of personal power till 1743, remaining content to see his country ruled by two regents, first by the Duke of Orleans, his uncle (1715–1723), and then by Cardinal Fleury (1726–1743). The first regent was notorious for his debaucheries and Bainville, a noted French historian, has said that "the reputation France has received for licentiousness springs very largely from the notorious debauchery which characterized the life of Philip of Orleans." The duke was in constant dread that Philip V of Spain, being the grandson of Louis XIV, would try to usurp the French throne. In contrast with the policies of Louis XIV, the duke made an alliance with England, Holland, and Austria, which for a long time had been enemies of France. The duke of Orleans was also motivated by the fear of seeing Spain regain Naples and Sicily, which had been ceded by Spain to Austria and Savoy respectively. The British government encouraged war between France and Spain, because it had just fought a war in which one important issue had been the possible union of France and Spain. A short war broke out in

[1] The oldest son of the king of France was called the *Dauphin.*

1718, resulting in the exchange between Austria and Savoy of Sardinia and Sicily (1720). The duke of Savoy, who had become king in 1713, was now recognized as king of Sardinia rather than king of Savoy, while Austria was gratified by the exchange, because Sicily was a much more fertile island than Sardinia, and the duke of Orleans was pleased to have frustrated the plans of the king of Spain. This alliance of the French regent, however, was so unnatural that shortly after the war of 1718 the relations between France and its neighbors reverted to previous conditions.

The duke of Orleans experienced great difficulty in securing adequate revenues, since the extravagance of Louis XIV had exhausted the treasury. But, instead of seeking to reform the finances of his government, the profligate duke resorted to the questionable scheme of promoting the sale of bank-notes, issued by John Law, a Scotch adventurer. Law had founded a trading company and a bank, and suggested to the regent that his corporation develop French colonial trade in America, that the public buy shares, and that the money advanced by the people be used to pay the public debt. For a short time the scheme seemed to work. The trading company actually developed the colony of Lousiana and the French people bought enormous quantities of shares issued by Law's corporation. But in 1720 the shares were discovered to be worthless and one of the most notorious of panics of modern times now ensued. The "bursting of the South Sea Bubble" caused widespread distress in Great Britain as well as in France, for John Law was but one of many swindlers. The duke of Orleans lost the little respect his people had still cherished for him. Since the notes of Law's bank had guaranteed the shares of his trading company, and since the regent had made out of Law's bank a State Bank, the fall of the shares rendered the bank-notes valueless and the whole disaster involved the prestige of the French government. Whereas before the year 1720 the authority of state and church had been questioned by only a

few critics, a new era of criticism and skepticism was launched with the appearance of such works as Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1721), which were speedily followed by the satires of Voltaire. The decline of absolute Monarchy was at hand.

The French people sighed with relief when in 1723 the duke of Orleans passed away and Louis XV was declared of age. But the young king, although he dismissed the duke of Bourbon, the regent from 1723 till 1726, was too indolent to follow the example of Louis XIV and become his own chief minister. He chose to be guided by his tutor, Fleury, a prudent statesman, who for fifteen years administered the machinery of government with superior skill, so that France rapidly recovered from the mismanagement of the duke of Orleans. With the exception of the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1738), peace was maintained by Fleury. The Polish war was caused by the death of Augustus II, who was both elector of Saxony and king of Poland; but whereas Prussia and Russia supported the claims of his heir, the Polish nobles voted mostly for Stanislas Leczinski, who had ruled Poland before and who happened to be the father-in-law of Louis XV. The French king entered the ensuing conflict in behalf of his father-in-law, but so weak had Poland become that its nobility was unable to make Leczinski their king. The latter was compensated for his defeat by receiving the duchy of Lorraine, while Louis XV, his son-in-law, was gratified to reflect on the possibility of seeing Lorraine more firmly attached to the French crown on the death of its duke.

Several French historians maintain that Fleury did not so much aid Poland for the sake of Leczinski as to maintain the independence of a nation which formed a buffer state between Russia and Prussia, just as in recent years the French government has shown unmistakable signs of wishing for a strong Poland, in order that Germany may be menaced by a potential enemy on the eastern border. Since the end of the seventeenth century Sweden had been rapidly declining, while Prussia had

steadily risen to power. Sweden, the ally of France, could no longer be regarded as a match for Prussia, wherefore France needed another ally near the Baltic. Fleury probably perceived the significance of these facts, and his motives in supporting the Polish nobility must have been more mixed than the casual reader would surmise. One thing is certain; Fleury, like Walpole in England, sought to keep his country out of foreign entanglements, for he realized perfectly how sorely the French were in need of peaceful recuperation. In 1738 he was glad to withdraw from the War of the Polish Succession and made peace with Emperor Charles VI. By the Treaty of Vienna, Francis, duke of Lorraine, renounced his right to the duchy, which on the death of Leczinski was to return to the French crown. Francis of Lorraine married Maria Theresa, the daughter of Charles VI, and for a short time it seemed as if the difficult problem of the Austrian Succession would be solved without war.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Henry IV and Sully

H. O. Wakeman, *The Ascendancy of France,* chapter II. This book has long been known and used as a standard work on France in the seventeenth century. But it should be noted that it contains numerous errors, is written from a narrow standpoint, and mingles common-place views with a flamboyant style.

D. Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century,* chapter II. The best volume in English on the subject. Supersedes a large part of Wakeman's book.

G. B. Adams, *The Growth of the French Nation,* pp. 177–189.

G. W. Kitchin, *History of France,* vol. II, pp. 396–484.

A. J. Grant, *The French Monarchy,* chapter VI.

P. F. Willert, *Henry of Navarre.* A popular biography.

Richelieu and Mazarin

J. Bainville, *History of France,* translated by A. Gauss and C. Gauss. A work by a distinguished French historian. The translation is excellent. Read chapter X.

D. Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century,* chapter V. An excellent treatment.

R. Lodge, *Richelieu.* A very good biography; the style is clear, and the book is not too large.

J. B. Perkins, *France under Mazarin,* 2 vols. The edition of 1913 contains a biography of Perkins. In these two admirable volumes the author "portrays the progress of human intelligence, the development of social life, the records of commerce and art, of taxation and legislation, of forms of government and phases of thought."

Louis XIV and the Extension of the Frontiers

G. B. Adams, *The Growth of the French Nation,* pp. 202–233.

D. Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century,* chapter VII.

A. Hassall, *Louis XIV and the Zenith of the French Monarchy.* A popular biography; well written and upon the whole reliable.

H. O. Wakeman, *The Ascendancy of France,* chapters IX, X, XI.

A. Tilley, *Modern France,* pp. 55–73.

W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe,* vol. II, chapters XXV, XXVII, XXVIII.

A. J. Sargent, *The Economic Policy of Colbert.*

C. Hugon, *Social France in the Seventeenth Century.*

J. Bainville, *History of France,* chapter XIII.

The Spanish Succession

M. A. S. Hume, *Spain,* chapters IX–XIII.

D. T. Hill, *History of Diplomacy in the International Development of Europe,* vol. III., chapters I–IV. A very useful sketch o

diplomacy in Europe during the second half of the seventeenth century.

G. Edmundson, *History of Holland,* chapter XX.

G. J. Wolseley, *Life of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, to the Accession of Queen Anne,* 2 vols.

THE REGENCY

J. B. Perkins, *France under the Regency.* Scholarly, but easy to follow.

G. B. Adams, *The Growth of the French Nation,* pp. 234–244.

A. J. Grant, *The French Monarchy,* vol. II, chapters XVI–XVIII.

J. Bainville, *History of France,* chapter XIV.

CHAPTER VI

ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the English had abandoned the policy of conquest which had marked the reign of Edward III in the fourteenth century. Only when Philip II of Spain seemed to endanger their safety, and again, when the Dutch appeared to enjoy more power on the sea than was safe for the English,—only then did the people whole-heartedly support the government in carrying on a war. Because of the insular position of Great Britain, the English usually were less directly in touch with religious, political, and social developments on the Continent than were the French or the Dutch. During the age of the Reformation, the English had constructed a state church which was neither Roman Catholic nor decidedly Protestant. And during the seventeenth century, when continental governments were nearly all showing a tendency toward absolutism, the English government was moving in exactly the opposite direction. Thus while in Holland, which was nominally a republic, the *stadhouder* was gradually assuming monarchical powers, in England, where James I preceded Louis XIV of France in trying to make a practical application of the theory of divine right monarchy, the king was beginning to be shorn of his royal prerogatives.

The rise of parliamentary government in England is all the more remarkable because the sovereigns of the house of Tudor (1485–1603) had kept Parliament subservient to the crown. The moment James I ascended the English throne, the struggle for parliamentary supremacy began, and it continued throughout the seventeenth century. Perhaps the history of Parliament would have been very different if the Tudors had

reigned one more century. Seemingly a number of fortuitous circumstances conspired against Stuart absolutism, but the important fact remains that the English created political institutions which have exerted tremendous influence in Europe as well as in America.

The Personal Monarchy of James I and Charles I

James had ruled as king of Scotland since the year his mother, Mary Stuart, was deposed (1567). In 1603 he was proclaimed king of England, where he was known as James I, while in Scotland he remained James VI. He had received an excellent education in Presbyterian Scotland. In certain branches of learning he was almost a marvel, particularly in theology; but he so rarely made a practical application of his erudition, that King Henry IV of France and Sully aptly called him "the wisest fool in Christendom," while Macaulay said of him: "He was indeed made up of two men—a witty, well-read scholar who wrote, disputed, and harangued; and a nervous, driveling idiot who acted."

He never forgot how the Presbyterians in Scotland had deprived his mother of the throne, and had constantly meddled in politics during his own reign, trying to limit the power of the crown. He thoroughly disliked the Puritans, as did Queen Elizabeth, his predecessor in England. His aim was to rule as an autocrat. In his opinion he had been ordained by God to rule his country as a father rules a family. His political views were expressed in the following statement, which he repeatedly quoted: "The king is from God, and law is from the king." He was so sure of always being in the right that he never learned to appreciate the views of those who differed from him, nor was he able to estimate the ability of his ministers, so that he frequently erred in his selection of officials. Such a king might have ruled undisturbed in ancient Persia, but in

modern England he was certain to face stubborn resistance.

One of the first problems James I had to solve was the relation between the government and the Puritans, and closely linked up with this was the question of how much power the English Parliament was to exercise. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth Parliament had frequently endeavored to impose its wishes upon the monarch, but her age, her sex, and her popularity, combined with the menace of a Spanish invasion, had impelled the members of Parliament to refrain from an open conflict. James I on the other hand had little in his favor. Some of the great lawyers informed the public that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Parliament had possessed powers which were now in the hands of the king. Puritans, dissatisfied with the state church, of which James I was the head, joined the champions of representative government. To be sure, they overemphasized the significance of Magna Carta (1215), which had done little for the commons or middle class, but their opposition to the absolutism of the new monarch was supported by an ever increasing number of influential Englishmen.

The conflict between the king and the Puritans began during the first year of his reign. The Puritans assumed that a king who had been educated by Presbyterians would be certain to favor the "purification" of the Anglican ritual. They therefore prepared a petition for changes in the church services and sent it to the king. But the latter, before he agreed to sign it, arranged for a debate on the question which was held in one of his palaces. After several days of debate, one of the Puritan clergymen suggested that disputed points might be settled by the bishop and his "presbyters," the latter word referring to clergymen or elders. When the king heard the word presbyters mentioned, he flew into a rage, and exclaimed, "You are aiming at a Scotch presbytery, which agrees as well with a monarchy as God and the Devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick will meet and at their pleasure censure me and my

Council and all our proceedings.—If this be all that they have to say, I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse." This statement neatly expressed the attitude of James I and of Elizabeth, his predecessor, and of Charles I, his successor. It foreshadowed the coming emigration of thousands of Puritans and Pilgrim Fathers to Holland and America.

The king's conflict with Parliament was also to have far-reaching effects. Parliament had claimed the right to authorize the levying of taxes, freedom of debate, freedom from arrest for its members, and the right to judge their election. As soon as James I needed money, and that happened almost immediately after his accession, he was compelled to convoke Parliament. The king's revenues were more inadequate now than a century earlier; due to the rise in prices, the king needed more money to cover his expenditures. Queen Elizabeth, parsimonious though she was, had been unable to meet expenses. No wonder that her extravagant successor had greater difficulties. He resorted to all sorts of means to secure the necessary funds, revising duties on certain commodities, selling monopolies and peerages, and collecting forced loans and "benevolences," which were really the equivalent of taxes. He frequently had to ask Parliament for funds, and this enabled it to insist on some changes in his erratic policies. Each time the conceited monarch grew more angry at the members of Parliament who dared to criticize him, the man designated by God to rule as he best saw fit! He naturally was loath to convene Parliament, so that in his whole reign there were but eight sessions; there were none between 1614 and 1621.

When finally the king was compelled to convoke another session in 1621, the House of Commons requested him to support the Protestants on the Continent and to declare war on Spain, to marry his son to a Protestant princess instead of trying to have him win a Spanish bride, and to treat the Catholics more harshly. The king not only refused these demands

but informed Parliament that he was "very free and able to punish any man's misdemeanors in parliament, both during and after a session." Parliament also quarreled with him on account of his hostility toward the Puritans, and it opposed the attempted union of England and Scotland.

The Puritans bitterly hated the Scotch king. Not only had his mother been a Roman Catholic, but this monarch who claimed to be ruling by the will of God was accused of encouraging "drunken orgies" at his court. Scandalous was the behavior in their eyes of many of the nobles at the Court. To make matters worse, James sympathized with the Catholics and did nothing for the Puritans. His wife was secretly a Catholic, and he would gladly have revoked all the laws against the Catholics which had been passed in the reign of Elizabeth. In 1605 some of the disappointed Catholics attempted to blow up the building in Westminster where the sessions of Parliament were being held. The plot miscarried, but the Puritans long recalled with horror what a menace the conspirators had been. In their imagination they pictured scenes of indescribable horror which would result from the leniency of James I. Many of them were so discontented with developments in their own country that they emigrated to Holland, where more than thirty congregations of English Puritans were to be found by the middle of the century. The Pilgrim Fathers, it will be recalled, left during his reign.

The death of the hated king in 1625 caused great relief to the Puritans and to the supporters of the Parliament generally. The Puritans had so greatly increased in number that their leaders now formed an appreciable number in the House of Commons. Puritanism had spread most rapidly among the middle classes, and it had particularly appealed to the energetic and aggressive merchants and professional men of the towns, which sent more representatives to the House of Commons than other classes, wherefore the Puritan majority in the House of Commons did not signify a Puritan majority in the whole

population. These aggressive Puritans believed that Charles I, the son of James I, would inaugurate a different policy from that followed by his father. He was handsome, dignified, respectable; he hated the Spaniards because the Spanish Infanta, daughter of Philip III (1598–1621), had jilted him; he might champion the cause of Puritanism, or at least exterminate Catholicism.

When Charles returned from Spain in 1623, after an unsuccessful courtship, he greatly pleased the Puritans in Parliament by demanding war with Spain. When the next year he married the sister of King Louis XIII of France, he solemnly promised to enforce the laws against the Catholics; unknown to the English Protestants, he simultaneously promised his bride that he would not enforce these laws. For a few years this duplicity worked well, but disappointment on the part of his hopeful subjects was bound to turn into resentment. The English people were to be disappointed in other ways. Charles was not nearly so well educated as his father, was more unscrupulous, more reserved, but just as bigoted and narrow-minded, just as strongly imbued with the theory of monarchy by divine right. His Catholic wife was certain to antagonize the Protestants, and his extravagance could not fail to outrage the Puritans.

The war declared against Spain at the opening of the reign was not like that conducted by Queen Elizabeth. Parliament had gladly voted the necessary revenues for the carrying on of active operations, but Charles used much of this money for other purposes before he sent a fleet or organized an army. When he asked Parliament for further grants of money, it responded by criticizing the king for his friendship with the worthless Duke of Buckingham, and requested him not to entrust the duke with any responsible position. Charles deeply resented this attack on his favorite minister, and felt offended because Parliament implied that he was not to be allowed to choose his own ministers. Hence he angrily dissolved his first

Parliament, although it had granted him only a small sum of money. The war with Spain could not be otherwise than a failure. An army was sent to the Netherlands, but it was nearly destroyed by disease; a fleet was placed at the disposal of Louis XIII of France, who used it, not to attack Spanish forces, but to defeat the Huguenots; another fleet was sent to Cadiz to capture a silver fleet, but the Spaniards sailed serenely past into the harbor. The old spirit of Elizabethan England was gone. Even an expedition in 1627 to help the Huguenots ended in failure, for the English people were not interested in the private ventures of their king.

In 1626 the second Parliament was convened. The House of Commons impeached Buckingham before the House of Lords, whereupon Charles I, in other to prevent a trial, hastily dissolved Parliament. This of course was not the way to secure the funds of which he stood in such great need. Charles, therefore, resorted to a forced loan. Soldiers were quartered in the homes of his subjects, and citizens who refused to comply with these arbitrary measures were imprisoned. The third Parliament, summoned in 1628, presented the celebrated "Petition of Right," which Charles I was compelled to acknowledge and affirm. Like Magna Carta of the year 1215, it wrung concessions from the king, and with Magna Carta it ranks as one of the three most important documents in English political history before the nineteenth century. It declared as illegal (1) the quartering of soldiers on private citizens, (2) forced loans or exactions, (3) arbitrary imprisonment, and (4) martial and military law. In the following year Charles I once more dissolved Parliament in a fit of anger and for eleven years ruled without Parliament. His secret hope in 1629 was that Parliament would never meet again. Louis XIII disregarded the Estates-General; why could not his English brother-in-law do the same with Parliament?

There were two important questions which the Petition of Right had not settled, namely the right of the king to levy

customs duties on wine and merchandise, named tonnage and poundage; and the treatment accorded by the government to the Puritans. Tonnage and poundage had been collected by some of the king's predecessors, wherefore he claimed that he was entitled to the same right; the House of Commons, however, argued that he had forfeited all claim to the levying of taxes. When some of his subjects refused to pay these customs duties, which were after all indirect taxes and therefore still the property of the king, the latter imprisoned a number of the recalcitrant citizens and confiscated the goods of several others. Not content with that, Charles adopted other means of securing money without the aid of Parliament, some of which were no doubt illegal. Most unpopular was the "ship money." It had long been the custom for the king of England to levy a tax on the towns along the coast for the purpose of building and maintaining a fleet, with which the monarch could defend his country. When in 1634 King Charles I levied this tax on the port towns, it was paid without resistance; but the next year he asked for an amount twice as high, and in 1636 and 1637 two more levies followed, while the last three were to be paid partly by inland towns and counties. These arbitrary measures of the king were quite successful financially, but they were bitterly resented and prepared the way for a revolution.

During the eleven years of personal rule the king attempted to destroy Puritanism. In 1629 the great Richelieu had just succeeded in humbling the Huguenots, who exerted political power altogether out of proportion to their numerical strength. Charles I rightly reasoned that the same was true of the English Puritans. As he had promised his French bride before he ascended the English throne, he relaxed the law against the Catholics; and with the aid of William Laud, the newly appointed archbishop of Canterbury, proceeded to make the Anglican ritual and doctrine conform more and more to the Roman Catholic. He infuriated the Puritan clergymen by

compelling them to read from their pulpits a royal proclamation to the effect that on Sundays people would again be allowed to dance in the open and shoot at targets. He drove many of the Puritan clergy into voluntary exile by renewing the activity of the Court of High Commission, which consisted of bishops and other clergymen, and which enforced the ecclesiastical laws. The old Star Chamber, a highly arbitrary court, was revived in order to prosecute disloyal subjects. These two courts now proceeded to punish a large number of Puritans. One form of punishment was that of cutting off a person's ears, and putting him in a pillory. Some of the most eminent Puritan leaders were punished in this way. Many thousands of Puritans now left the country, not all of them for religious reasons, but the records of New England show that the 20,000 immigrants who arrived there between 1629 and 1640 were mostly Puritans of the well-known type.

Charles I also endeavored to impose the episcopal system on the Scotch, but the latter successfully resisted him. They wanted no bishops and no prayer book. Their leaders angrily signed a pledge, called "National Covenant," promising to maintain the Presbyterian form of worship (1638). A great church assembly was held in the fall of the same year, consisting of both clergymen and laymen. It met at Edinburgh, the Scotch capital, and claimed the power to regulate all the religious affairs of Scotland. When the king's representative ordered the assembly to dissolve, it refused to obey, proceeded with its work, and canceled the new regulations. This procedure was nothing less than rebellion. The king therefore marched at the head of an army to the Scotch border, only to find that the church assembly had organized a larger army than his own. After two short contests in 1639 and 1640, known as the "Bishops' Wars," Charles had to stop fighting for lack of funds. His only hope lay in parliamentary support; hence he summoned Parliament in April, 1640, thinking that it might authorize the necessary taxes without asking embar-

rassing questions. The moment the session began, however, Charles was reminded of all the grievances his people held against him, and was advised to discontinue the war with Scotland. Consequently he dissolved Parliament after the short session of three weeks.

The Puritan Revolution

The king now found himself in difficult straits. The Scotch army was ready to invade England, while the king had no money with which to equip an army himself. By robbing the East India Company of several cargoes of pepper and selling it cheaply to get ready cash, he obtained enough funds to send a small army to Scotland. But he was disappointed to learn that his soldiers refused to fight the Scotch, and that he had to come to terms with them; the latter now agreed not to march beyond the two northern counties of England, on the reception of £850 a day for their expenses. But how long would Charles be able to pay them? He convoked an assembly of nobles to ask for counsel; all they could do was to tell him that he had better call Parliament again. In despair he heeded the advice.

The session held in the spring of 1640 is usually styled the "Short Parliament," while the name "Long Parliament" is applied to the session which opened in November, and lasted till 1660. Most of the men who had opposed the king in the former parliaments were elected again. They felt that the time had now come for a settlement of the long dispute between royal prerogative and parliamentary control. Personal monarchy had been given a fair chance and had failed miserably. It was now the privilege of Parliament to show its real worth. The meeting of November, 1640, opened a new era in the history of England, for never since that memorable month has Parliament been relegated to the position of submissiveness suffered during the reigns of the Tudors.

The king's chief ministers were the first to feel the change in the royal fortunes. Orders were issued for their arrest and impeachment. Archbishop Laud and Strafford, the king's most trusted minister, were taken to the Tower of London, but the others fled to the Continent. Strafford was beheaded in 1641, Laud was executed in 1645. Parliament further strengthened its position by passing a bill which provided that it could not be dissolved without its own consent, and that it should meet at least once in every three years. The Court of High Commission and the Star Chamber, which had prosecuted so many prominent men, were abolished. The king was informed that he could no longer indulge in irregular ways of raising money. All these measures were passed in the year 1640–1641, and they were all signed by the king. Parliament proceeded next to appropriate the funds for paying off the Scotch and English armies, inducing the former to return to Scotland, and disbanding the latter. Royal despotism seemed at an end.

But, once the king was humbled by the supporters of parliamentary government, dissension arose within their ranks, because they could not agree on religious issues. There were in the first place the Presbyterians, who insisted on the abolition of the prayer book and episcopacy; then there were the Puritans within the Anglican Church, whose views on the reform of their church varied all the way from the opinions of the Presbyterians to those of the more conservative Protestants, the latter asking merely for more religious zeal; finally, there were many thousands of prominent Independents, who wanted congregational control of worship and doctrine. They debated the whole Church question for several months, but could not come to any decision; the longer they argued, the greater became the breach among the various factions.

Late in the year 1641 a rebellion broke out in Ireland. The Roman Catholics, enraged by the treatment accorded by the overbearing Protestants, rose against the English. An army was needed to suppress the rebellion, and the question im-

ENGLAND
DURING THE CIVIL WARS
AND THE PROTECTORATE
Scale of Miles
0 20 40 60 80
Land held by Charles I at the end of 1643
Land held by Parliament
Battlefields
SCOTLAND
Firth of Forth
Dunbar
Clyde
Tweed
HOLY ISLE
Philiphaugh
ARRAN
Firth of Clyde
Newcastle
Tyne
NORTH SEA
IRELAND
Solway Firth
Tees
ISLE OF MAN
Swale
Marston Moor
York
IRISH SEA
Leeds
Ouse
Hull
R. Mersey
Manchester
Don
R. Humber
ANGLESEA
Gainsborough
Nottingham
The Wash
Newark
Litchfield
ENGLAND
Cardigan Bay
Birmingham
Avon
Naseby
Ouse
St. George's Channel
Worcester
Edgehill
Holmby House
Severn
Wye
Cropredy Bridge
Raglan
Gloucester
Oxford
Chalgrove
Pembroke
Thames
London
Bristol
Reading
Bristol Channel
Roundway Down
Newburg
Basing
Exe
Tamar
Beachy Head
Strait of Dover
Plymouth
ISLE OF WIGHT
Carisbrooke Castle
Lostwithiel
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FRANCE
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO., N. Y.

mediately arose whether the king should command it or not. Many of the parliamentary leaders reasoned that such an army would be exactly the weapon which the king required in order to regain his lost power. Although he did secure the command of the English troops, the opposition to him in Parliament was fanned all the more, since consent had been granted unwillingly by many members in the House of Commons.

Their suspicions were well founded, for in January, 1642, Charles surrounded their building with 500 armed men. He entered the house, much to the amazement of the members, whom he greatly offended by appearing in this illegal manner, as it was customary for the king to summon the members before him in the House of Lords. Their amazement changed to anger when they were informed by Charles that he had come to arrest five of the members. On perceiving that the five men had already escaped, he remarked, "The birds have flown," and abruptly departed.

Civil war soon followed. Charles was supported by the majority of the people in northern and western England, Parliament by the other sections. To the king's supporters belonged generally the leading nobles, the bishops, the High Church party, and the wealthier gentry; Parliament reckoned among its followers the middle classes, the Low Church party, and the people in the centers of industry and commerce. Those who flocked to the king's standard were called "Cavaliers," while their opponents were known as "Roundheads," because they wore their hair short, believing it sinful to let it grow in long curls, as did the gay and reckless "cavaliers." The parliamentarians made a treaty with the Scotch Presbyterians, called the "Solemn League and Covenant" (1643), agreeing, in return for military assistance, to introduce uniformity of religion in England, Scotland, and Ireland, "according to the example of the best reformed [Presbyterian] churches." The result was defeat for the king (1644), and an attempt to destroy Anglicanism, as well as the extreme forms of Puritan-

ism. For a short period the Presbyterians controlled Parliament. They convoked a church assembly at Westminster, which drew up the Westminster Confession, ordered the abolition of episcopacy in the whole of England, and prohibited the use of the prayer book in church services.

Now that Presbyterianism had triumphed, the men in control of Parliament were content to have the king return to power. They were short-sighted enough to suppose that their own brand of intolerance would prove acceptable where former varieties had caused resistance. The majority of the soldiers were the first to express dissatisfaction. They were the Independents, or extreme Puritans, more radical still than the Presbyterians and the moderate Puritans. They would not tolerate episcopacy or popery. Their leader was Oliver Cromwell, a representative in the House of Commons from Cambridge.

Cromwell had fought against the king in 1644. He had organized a cavalry regiment, which consisted of "honest sober Christians," men who entered the battle singing psalms and fought in a prayerful, though highly successful manner. In a short time a large part of the parliamentary forces were patterned after Cromwell's regiment. The reorganized army was then styled the "New Model Army." Its aim was to end the intolerance of Presbyterianism. "Brethren," said Cromwell one day to his soldiers, "in things of the mind we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason."

In the meantime the king, supported by the English Presbyterians, had raised an army; but the New Model Army inflicted a decisive defeat on his forces at Naseby in 1645. He himself escaped, but his private correspondence was captured, revealing plans to bring a foreign army into England. Charles surrendered in the following year; the Scotch army was paid for its services, and returned to Scotland. While the king was kept in honorable imprisonment at a castle, the Presbyterians negotiated for his return to power. Charles himself

hoped against hope that the French or the Scotch or the Irish would come to his rescue. In England the duplicity of his character was now fully established. The Presbyterians in supporting his cause fell more and more into disfavor. Finally, in 1648, one of the commanders in the army of the Independents appeared in the House of Commons, and arrested 143 Presbyterian members. The remaining members, about sixty in all, now proceeded to appoint a "High Court of Justice," which sentenced Charles I to death on the charge of treason. The king was beheaded on January 30, 1649.

Commonwealth and Protectorate

The country was now ruled by the sixty men who had retained their seats in the House of Commons; instead of calling for new elections, as they were expected to do, they maintained that they were "the representatives of the people," although they actually represented a small minority. Shortly after the execution of the king they appointed a Council of State, consisting of forty-one men, thirty of whom were chosen from the sixty members of the House of Commons. They next abolished the House of Lords, and on May 19, 1649, declared that "the people of England are a Commonwealth and Free State, by the supreme authority of the nation."

The Commonwealth lasted till 1660, although one might say that from 1653 to 1660 the Protectorate took its place. It was a very efficient and warlike government, totally different from the government of James I and Charles I. Although it was not confronted with rebellion in England, it had to suppress the Irish and the Scotch, who refused to acknowledge its suzerainty, and proclaimed Charles II, the son of Charles I, as their king. Both countries were quickly defeated. Cromwell and his son-in-law went to Ireland in person and subjugated the whole of the island (1649–1652), so that it was now more thoroughly conquered by the English than it had ever been

before. Scotland fared no better. With Prince Charles, the son of Charles I, at their command, the Scotch were decisively beaten by Cromwell (1651). Armed resistance to the Commonwealth in the British Isles had been completely and permanently crushed.

The government was equally successful abroad. As in the days of Queen Elizabeth, when English sailors knew no superiors, so in the time of Oliver Cromwell the English seamen fought with all their might. In 1651 Parliament passed the "Navigation Act," which stated that goods from Asia, Africa, and America could only be imported into England and its colonies in English and colonial vessels, while goods from the Continent were to be carried only in English ships or the ships of the countries whose products were sent to England. The act was chiefly aimed at the Dutch, who were still carrying on a profitable trade between England and other countries, and who charged such low rates that competition with them was difficult. It has frequently been asserted that the Navigation Act led to the ruin of the Dutch carrying trade, but it was not strictly enforced; again, the coastwise trade of the whole Continent and the trade between the Continent and Asia, Africa, and America was largely unaffected by the Act. In 1652 Parliament declared war on Holland. A series of bloody sea battles were fought between the two maritime nations which led to no decisive results, although the advantage upon the whole was on the side of the English. When peace was declared in 1654, the Dutch recognized the Navigation Act.

In domestic affairs Parliament was a failure. Cromwell therefore dissolved the remnant of the Long Parliament and replaced it by a legislative body consisting of 130 men, who, instead of having been elected by the people at large, came to Westminster recommended by Independent clergymen. One need not explain why these men failed to form a suitable government. Most of the members soon realized their own incompetence, and, rather than keep powers to which they felt

they were not entitled, they voted to "deliver up unto the Lord-General [Cromwell] the powers they had received from him" (December 11, 1653).

The higher officers in the army prepared a written constitution for England, called the "Instrument of Government." It vested all executive power in the Lord Protector, who naturally was to be Cromwell, and in a small Council of State. Parliament, meeting once in every three years, was to make laws and levy taxes, subject to approval by Cromwell, who could merely delay, but not veto their legislation. The Puritanism of the Independents became the religion of the state. England, Scotland, and Ireland were firmly united under the same parliament, which consisted only of the House of Commons. This form of government is called the Protectorate; it lasted from December, 1653, till 1660.

Oliver Cromwell had virtually become a monarch; he was more powerful than a king, for with the army constantly at his beck and call he could intimidate Parliament at any time he chose. In 1655 he was actually asked by Parliament to assume the title of king, but he politely refused. Cromwell had an impressive, dignified appearance, a forceful and magnetic personality; he was gay and usually good-humored, liked to indulge in innocent games, and was fond of art and music. He was a military genius, and a statesman of staunch ability, slow to decide but quick to act. If only the Stuarts had acquired the qualities he possessed, or if he himself had been one of them, England would have seen a better government than it enjoyed before and after the Puritan Revolution. Probably there would have been no revolution.

The election for members of Parliament returned only a minority of Independents. The numerous Presbyterians immediately began to attack the Protector, whereupon he dismissed them (1655). His theory of proper government did not differ a great deal from that of James I. James had said, "The king is from God, the laws are from the king." Cromwell, as

a true Puritan, believed that he was a chosen vessel in God's hand and that God had placed him at the head of the state. He now ruled as a military dictator, reducing the power of Parliament to a very low level. In spite of his great qualities as a military leader and a statesman, many thousands of his subjects sighed with relief when he died in 1658. He was succeeded by his son Richard, but the latter was unequal to the task of maintaining a form of government not suited to the needs of England. It is doubtful whether the illustrious Oliver himself could have preserved it much longer. In less than a year Richard abdicated, and the surviving members of the Long Parliament were invited by the officers of the army to take over once more the reins of government. For a few months there was disorder, until in 1660 the members of the Long Parliament voluntarily dissolved and convoked a new Parliament. In the meantime General Monck was in communication with the son of Charles I, asking him to restore the monarchy and the Church of England.

The Reign of Charles II

The newly elected Parliament immediately proceeded to invite Charles to occupy the throne left vacant since the death of his father. Great things were expected of the prince, for the Puritans had tyrannized over the majority of the people as freely as James I and Charles I had done before. The Independents had acquired the reputation of being religious fanatics who were responsible for the broken windows and statues and paintings in the churches, had prohibited innocent games and dances on Sundays, and had robbed the Anglican Church of its inspiring ritual. It usually happens that a class of people, after having been persecuted, and being set free to do as they please, begin to persecute others. The Presbyterians had wasted their great opportunity in 1645; the Independents had lost theirs by the year 1658. Now a reaction naturally set

in which favored a return to the Elizabethan settlement. The arrival of Charles in England meant a twofold restoration: that of limited monarchy and of the Church of England. In Ireland the Catholics recalled but too vividly how the soldiers of Cromwell had maltreated the priests, and had sold thousands of boys and girls to be used as slaves in the West Indies. The Scotch still ached for revenge of the defeat at the hand of Cromwell's army. The English themselves were only vaguely conscious of the atrocities committed by Charles I. The rising generation in particular thought lightly of the reports circulated about ten years before.

Charles II had been living in Holland for some time. His sister had married the *stadhouder* of the Dutch Republic, and one of the reasons why Cromwell's government had declared war against Holland was because the Dutch had sheltered the royalists in 1649 and the year immediately following the execution of Charles I. In 1660 Charles II happened to be staying in the city of Breda, wherefore the articles he signed there were called the "Declaration of Breda." He promised to pardon all those who had participated in the Great Rebellion, except those whom Parliament itself should declare beyond pardon; and to approve any bill which Parliament chose to pass granting religious toleration. On May 1, 1660, the day in which the Declaration was received, Parliament passed a resolution to the effect that "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons." Three weeks later Charles traveled from Dover to London, where he swore to observe Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and several other statutes. He also acknowledged the existing Parliament, although it had not been summoned by a king.

Charles resembled his father in that he was gay, selfish, and unscrupulous. He lacked his father's sense of duty, and also differed from the latter in refusing to fight for a principle. In a contest between king and Parliament he always

thought it best to give way, for Parliament unquestionably had gained much prestige since the year 1640. It had successfully resisted and deposed a king, and that king was his own father; again, the execution had taken place but eleven years ago. Perhaps he possessed more wisdom than most of his contemporaries surmised. They merely saw indolence and lack of spirit, where he used foresight. If one should wonder why this selfish king, who was guilty of so many despicable deeds, could remain in power for twenty-five years, the answer must be sought in his hypocrisy. When serious mistakes were made, he was mean enough to blame his ministers, and, if he thought pure deceit would gain his ends, he would employ that also. He was as bad a king as his father, only he was more clever.

The king and his brother James had been brought up in the court of Louis XIV, who was their cousin. They were the sons of Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I of England, who was the sister of Louis XIII, and the latter the father of Louis XIV. Such relationships do not have much significance today. In the seventeenth century, however, they strongly affected the foreign policy of great nations. In the French court Charles and James had learned to approve of Catholicism, while the absolutism of the French monarchy likewise met with their approbation. Charles became secretly a Catholic in 1669, while James in 1672 openly professed his adherence to the Catholic faith. In the secret treaty of Dover, signed in 1670 and mentioned in the preceding chapter, Charles II promised Louis XIV that he would become a Roman Catholic. In 1672 the king suspended the laws against the Catholics, by issuing a "Declaration of Indulgence," but Parliament was so bitterly opposed to this measure that in the next year Charles withdrew the decree.

Not content with this, Parliament passed a "Test Act," which stipulated that no one could hold office under the government until he had rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation

and had partaken of the sacrament of communion as administered in the Anglican Church. Twelve years earlier, in the Corporation Act (1661), Parliament had excluded all Dissenters, that is, Protestants not belonging to the Church of England, from municipal offices; while in 1662 it had deprived all clergymen of their offices who did not follow the ritual prescribed in the Anglican prayer book (Act of Uniformity). Two thousand clergymen gave up their livings, and the Church of England was again supreme in the land. It commanded a strong majority in the House of Lords, supervised the education and charitable institutions in the country, and kept its power unchallenged, because the people were in constant dread of the recovery of both Catholicism and Puritanism.

In political affairs great changes also took place. The influential landowners prevailed upon Parliament to abolish the old feudal tenures by which the nobles had received grants of lands from the king in return for military services, or their equivalent. Charles I had enjoyed the receipts of handsome dues paid by the great landowners because of this old custom. Parliament now relieved them of these annoying burdens, and recompensed the king by allowing him revenues derived from a tax on several articles of common use. Another important change made by Parliament was the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679, providing that nobody could be arbitrarily held in prison.[1] This act protected the English people against arbitrary imprisonment by the government.

During the reign of Charles II a beginning was made of party government. Two great political parties owed their rise to a number of developments which occurred shortly after the year 1679. When Parliament, being dominated by Anglicanism, expressed fear of Catholic ascendancy, a bill was introduced in 1679, called the Exclusion Bill, which was to debar

[1] The term *Habeas Corpus* literally means, "That thou mayest have the body," and refers to anybody who is keeping someone else in confinement, which shall be deemed illegal if the captor fails to show good reason.

James from the throne. Parliament was quickly dissolved in order to prevent the passing of this bill. A large number of petitions were sent to the king, asking him to convoke another Parliament, so that the bill could be passed; these were followed by counter-petitions, expressing the wish that the bill never become a law. Those who sent the first class of petitions came to be called "Petitioners," while the latter received the name of "Abhorrers."

When Parliament met, the two parties remained divided on the question of Exclusion. Their names soon fell into disuse, being supplanted respectively by those of "Whigs" and "Tories," two nicknames which had no special significance.[1] In the course of a few years the two groups of men in Parliament began to draw up what is often called a platform. They took a certain stand in regard to a number of important issues. The Whigs at first stood for parliamentary supremacy, limitation of royal prerogative, toleration for Dissenters, promotion of commerce and industry, and an aggressive foreign policy. Their supporters were the great nobles, who were envious of the king, and the merchants and captains of industry. The Tories on the other hand strongly favored greater power for the king, and a conservative policy in all directions; they were supported by the clergy and the country gentry, men who usually were conservative and non-aggressive. In 1680 they were able to gain ground by defeating the second Exclusion Bill in the House of Lords, after it had passed the House of Commons. They continued to enjoy great popularity till the end of the reign in 1685, because it was believed that the Whigs had formed a plot to assassinate the king. After the year 1685, however, the Tories were to be discredited because of the antagonism caused almost everywhere in England by the actions of James II.

In foreign affairs the reign of Charles II brought little glory

[1] "Whig" was seventeenth century slang for the Presbyterian rebels in Scotland; "Tory" for Catholic rebels in Ireland.

to England. In 1664 the English seized the Dutch colony of New Netherland, and renamed it New York, because James, the brother of Charles, was the duke of York. In 1665 they declared war on Holland. Another series of sea battles followed which led to no decisive results. At first the English were better prepared than the Dutch, and they won some great battles, but in 1666 they began to neglect their fleet, with the result that, at the end of the war in the summer of 1667, the Dutch blockaded the mouth of the Thames for three months. However, the English retained New York, while the Dutch gained undisputed possession of the East Indian Archipelago. Both countries were satisfied.

The Triple Alliance of 1668, the secret treaty of Dover, and the third war with Holland, 1672–1674, need not be mentioned here, since they were treated in connection with the wars of Louis XIV. Although Charles II ruled twenty-five years, and James II, his successor, but three years, the reign of the latter is more significant in international affairs than that of Charles, so that this subject will require more attention.

The Revolution of 1688

James II was disliked by nearly all his subjects; by the Protestants because he was a Catholic and even employed an army commanded by Catholics; by the Tories because of the same reasons; by the Whigs for additional reasons, as will appear. The number of Catholics in the country was too small to give him substantial support. He offended the Tories by his antagonism toward their church, and the attempted organization of a standing army. James, like his brother Charles, issued a "Declaration of Indulgence" (1687), and thereby rendered inoperative the laws which compelled Catholics and Dissenters to conform to Anglicanism. He further offended both of the two great political parties by giving appointment in the civil service to Roman Catholics. In 1688 he issued another "Decla-

ration of Indulgence," and required that it be read in all the Anglican churches. Seven bishops who refused to comply were brought to trial. No jury could be found, however, which was subservient enough to declare them guilty of sedition, for nearly all classes of people had been estranged by the king's arbitrary measures.

Even the Dissenters, who had received religious toleration under the "Declarations of Indulgence" felt no gratitude, knowing that the king had merely issued them to benefit the Roman Catholics. Most of them refused to accept toleration from a king who violated the laws of the country. They belonged as a rule to the Whig party, and so bitterly hated Catholicism and royal absolutism that they preferred to be deprived of certain privileges rather than give moral support to James II in accepting them.

Passive resistance grew into action when it was made known that on June 10, 1688, a son had been born to the king and queen. The news caused great surprise in England, for the king was getting old, and preparations had already been made for the accession to the throne by Mary, the elder daughter of James, who had been married to William III of Holland. The latter had repeatedly assured the leaders in Parliament that he and his wife would respect the laws of England and would grant limited toleration in religion. As long as the people simply had to wait a few years for the hated king to pass away, they did not deem it necessary to resort to another civil war. But the thought of a second Catholic king upon the English throne was more than repugnant. Revolution was their only hope. The Tories joined the Whigs in asking William III to come to England.

The Dutch ruler had one great aim to which he directed practically all his plans, namely, the ruin of France. He had suddenly risen to power in 1672, when his people had almost succumbed to the armies of Louis XIV. When he had offered extremely favorable terms to the French, which after having

been rejected by the latter, had been followed by impossible demands on their part, he had exclaimed, "I would rather die in the last ditch than accede to such terms!" The tide of invasion had subsequently receded, but the danger of another attack was ever in the minds of the Dutch statesmen. They had gladly come to an agreement with their English rivals in 1674, returning New York, after having conquered it in 1673. They had expressed feelings of deep horror and resentment when Louis XIV had revoked the Edict of Nantes. They knew very well that the friendship of Spain and of the Empire, although greatly appreciated, was insufficient to protect them from French invasion. There was only one country which could give the aid they needed; that country was England.

Nothing could have pleased William III more than the invitation to ascend the English throne. Kingship in those days was regarded as greatly superior to executive power in a republic. It pleased him to think that he would be a king. It pleased him far more, however, to be able to use the resources of Great Britain in order to destroy France. He little cared how much actual power he would exercise in the domestic affairs of England. The local issues in Holland had seldom engaged much of his attention. Why then should he trouble himself about parliamentary development in a foreign country? He always considered the English parliament as a clumsy and irritating institution, but he also knew that the States-General in his native country were at least as clumsy and irritating. He cared little for human affection, was cold and reserved, dignified and disdainful to many men of the middle classes. As the representative of the ancient house of Orange, a district in southern France, he considered himself far above the members of Parliament, far superior also to the richest bankers and merchants of Amsterdam and London. His patience and perseverance, his sagacity and resourcefulness, rendered him the deadliest enemy of Louis XIV. To England he was a political savior, and well did Traill, the English historian,

express the significance of his reign in saying, "William III was a ruler destined to play a greater part in shaping the destinies of modern England than any of her native sovereigns."

William landed in southwestern England on November 5, 1688. Had Louis XIV not expected civil war to result in England, he would doubtless have tried to prevent the landing, and he probably could have done so. But the march of the Dutch ruler was little less than a triumphal procession. English nobles arrived from all directions to offer aid. James II was deserted by his own army, and fled in disgrace to France. Parliament now offered the crown to William and Mary on condition that they would promise to recognize Magna Carta of 1215, the Petition of Right of 1628, and a number of principles stated in another document, called the Bill of Rights, which ranks with the other two as one of the landmarks in English constitutional history. Much of it later became an integral part of the Constitution of the United States, being made the basis of the first ten amendments. The Bill of Rights, enacted in 1689, contained thirteen clauses, which made provision for the following principles: It is illegal to dispense with the laws of England; subjects may petition the king; the latter may not have a standing army in time of peace; members of Parliament are to enjoy freedom of election, and free speech; only a Protestant may occupy the English throne. The bill was supplemented by the Toleration Act of 1689, granting a limited degree of religious toleration to Dissenters. As for the problem of royal revenues, it became a custom to provide such a sum for the king each year as to make him dependent on Parliament, and virtually required a session of Parliament once a year.

The revolution of 1688 is often referred to as the "Glorious Revolution," inasmuch as it was accomplished without a civil war and without much bloodshed. Considering its far-reaching effects and the contrast between this revolution and the Puritan Revolution or similar movements, it is remarkable how much

was achieved at so small a cost. Parliament had emerged supreme, the Church of England was preserved intact, the Dissenters had received some concessions, a war was begun against France which led to the strengthening of the English navy, a great impetus was given to the expansion of industry and trade, further destructive wars with Holland were obviated, commerce with the American colonies grew more profitable, and trade with India increased. The year 1688 marks a great change in the history of England, for royal despotism received a blow from which it never recovered; it widened enormously the horizon of the average Englishman; it ushered in an era of imperialism such as no other European country has ever witnessed.

Social England

From the last decade of Queen Elizabeth's reign till the end of the seventeenth century, the English people produced a great literature and contributed a worthy share to contemporary scholarship. It is true that the development of parliamentary government in the seventeenth century is of supreme importance to the American student of modern European history. But it is also true that English literature and English scholarship and English customs of this period have greatly affected the character of American civilization. It should prove a fascinating task to analyze the significance of the labors of England's master minds from 1593 till 1702.

The reign of Elizabeth witnessed a tremendous outburst of intellectual activity. It has never been made quite clear why this should have happened before England became a more powerful and wealthier country. Possibly the rapid increase in wealth made the people feel much more prosperous than they actually were. The defeat of the dreaded Armada in 1588, the decline of Spain, the success of Protestantism under Elizabeth, the youthful spirit of a newly born national state, experiencing all the exuberance of abundant vitality,

—these facts will explain what must otherwise seem a mysterious phenomenon.

Remarkable though the productivity of English writers had been, it was not until the last decade of Elizabeth's reign that the great Elizabethan literature came to its fruition, and that English scholarship reached full maturity. The outstanding examples of epic poetry and the most important plays of this period have a special attraction for the student of history, for they are in a sense sources upon which the social history of England is partly based. Noteworthy is the "great epic of Elizabethan England," Spenser's *Faerie Queene,* which gives a faithful expression of the spirit of the time, as it defends Protestantism and holds up Elizabeth as the champion of English virtue against Roman vice and tyranny. Shakespeare's dramas, as everybody knows, are filled with valuable data on an infinite number of subjects. Between 1591 and 1611 he wrote his most important plays; he died in 1616. His influence on the development of the English theater is too well known to need elaboration here. That English drama rapidly declined after his death was undoubtedly due in a large measure to the hostility of the Puritans to all shows and plays. Nevertheless, the number of plays produced in England from 1580 to 1640 grew to two thousand.

In "Merrie England" of Queen Elizabeth's time many people indulged in extravagance which seemed ridiculous to some continental peoples, and sinful to the Puritans of the following generation. Elizabeth herself set an example in showy dressing; and her lavish expenditures for personal adornment must seem all the more remarkable because in other ways she was so strikingly parsimonious. Beer was still used in enormous quantities, although wine was much more popular than before the year 1588. Tobacco was first brought to England by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1586, and it soon found a warm reception all over the country. Although the use of forks was still very limited, knives and plates were now deemed strictly necessary. Eti-

quette had not yet reached a state of great refinement, but the opening of the seventeenth century did see a marked improvement. Compared with the French, however, the majority of the English were semi-barbarous.

In the reign of James I the outstanding literary work was the translation of the Bible, called the King James' Version. It will be remembered that James I was a real scholar himself and deeply interested in theology. He realized that the English Version used before 1611 was not without errors. So he asked the archbishop of Canterbury and the authorities at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to prepare a list of scholars well versed in Greek and Hebrew. A group of fifty-four men were selected for the task of translating the Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek into the language current in England. The scholars were divided into six units, each being asked to translate one sixth part of the Bible. At the end of three years the six groups carefully examined the whole translation together, and in 1611 the complete translation was finally published.

The greatest scholar in England during the whole reign was unquestionably Francis Bacon (1561–1626); his has indeed often been considered the greatest intellect England has ever produced. In his two famous works, *Advancement of Learning,* and *Novum Organum* (the latter completed only in part) he dissected medieval science and logic, condemning the dependence on only one method of reasoning, the deductive, rather than on the two necessary methods, deductive and inductive.

Bacon was by no means the only great English philosopher of the seventeenth century. There was Thomas Hobbes, for example, whose *Leviathan* (1657) spoke of a social contract between government and people, a theory which was to be popularized in the next century by Rousseau in France. John Locke (1632–1704) was also a product of seventeenth century England, who, according to John Stuart Mill, was the "unques-

tioned founder of the analytic philosophy of the mind." He wrote the celebrated *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* in which he set forth the theory that at birth the human mind is like a blank sheet of paper, or a piece of slate, containing no ideas, but ready to receive them, as written down by the senses and their nerves. His two *Treatises on Civil Government* were of great importance in the political field. He defended the Revolution of 1688 and the supremacy of Parliament, and emphasized the rights of the people over against a monarch who fails to obey their wishes. The influence exerted by him on the French philosophers of the eighteenth century was direct and far-reaching. His works were zealously read also by the fathers of the American Revolution.

Although the English scientists and mathematicians of the seventeenth century were inferior as a group to both the Dutch and the French, a few names stand out as eminently noteworthy. John Napier invented the logarithms, William Harvey has been credited with the discovery of the circulation of blood, while Sir Isaac Newton discovered in 1666 the law of gravitation. It might also be noted that in the reign of Charles II the National Observatory was constructed at Greenwich, an area which is now a part of London, and which on most maps is the starting-point for degrees of longitude. Izaak Walton lived in this period, and wrote his *Compleat Angler,* which has associated his name in the English-speaking world with fishing sports.

One of the greatest figures of the period was John Milton, a Puritan, whose sublime poetry, as expressed in *Paradise Lost,* ranks him with Shakespeare. John Dryden was an influential satirist and historiographer; he was poet laureate from 1670 to 1689. One of his contemporaries was the humble John Bunyan, a self-educated tinsmith (1628–1688), who was imprisoned for his religious views, being a Baptist. During his imprisonment he wrote numerous religious booklets, and also

his *Pilgrim's Progress,* which was published in 1678, and is usually regarded as the greatest allegorical work ever composed.

English art and music had not yet begun to rival the Dutch and French schools; but it is worth noting that Purcell (1658–1695), recognized as England's greatest musical genius, lived in this period. Flemish and Dutch artists, like Rubens and Van Dyke, were employed as portrait painters, since their superiority was undisputed. In architecture, England was nobly served by two of her native sons, one of whom, Christopher Wren, rebuilt St. Paul's Cathedral, after the terrible fire of London, which had destroyed most of the old city (1666).

It was only in the fields of political science and literature that the English excelled their neighbors across the Channel. However, under the instruction of Dutch and French farmers and artisans, they learned to improve their methods of agriculture, and acquired new industries, such as pottery, glassware, and the manufacture of new textiles, while other manufactures were greatly improved. They had merely begun to build a great navy and merchant marine; their colonies in North America and Asia still seemed comparatively insignificant. But, as the century grew to a close, London had surpassed Amsterdam as the first port in the world, Holland was rapidly declining, France had failed to seize its opportunities, Spain could no longer compete, and other European powers were merely spectators, when the foundations were being laid for the British Empire.

SUGGESTED READINGS

JAMES I AND CHARLES I

E. P. Cheyney, *A Short History of England,* chapter XIV.

A. L. Cross, *A Shorter History of England and Greater Britain,* chapters XVII, XVIII.

G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, 1603–1714. A brilliantly written work, which covers nearly every phase of English history in the seventeenth century.

F. N. Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings*. This book explains the political theories advanced by James I. The author supports some of the claims of this king.

G. P. Gooch, *English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*. Valuable.

The Puritan Revolution, Commonwealth, and Protectorate

E. P. Cheyney, *A Short History of England*, chapter XV.

A. L. Cross, *A Shorter History of England and Greater Britain*, chapters XXIX–XXXI. Rather detailed.

H. D. Traill, *Strafford*.

E. C. Wade, *John Pym*.

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CHAPTER VII

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

One of the most interesting problems in modern history is the duel for empire between Great Britain and France in the eighteenth century. It may well seem an astonishing fact that France, with a population more than twice as large as that of England and Scotland, with an area three times the size of England, with a soil more fertile and a climate more favorable for agriculture, with a seacoast on the Atlantic ocean as well as on the Mediterranean,—that this great country should have lost the world conflict with England, which seemed so backward before the seventeenth century, so slow to move in international affairs, and so badly governed by its kings.

To American students the problem assumes an aspect which should strongly arouse their interest, inasmuch as the conflict waged between these countries was largely for the possession of North America. It will make them realize that resources in man power, land, and money do not always win wars unaided; furthermore, that one should be extremely careful to examine problems in history from many angles before one is justified in applying any formula or law to the solution of the problem. This is particularly true of the second "Hundred Years' War" between England and France, which began with the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, and ended with the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815.

The Triumph of Parliamentary Government in England

The rise of party government in England at the end of the seventeenth century greatly strengthened the power of

Parliament. Both Whigs and Tories had invited William III to come to England, and, during the first five years of his reign, William appointed his ministers from both parties. It soon became apparent, however, that the leaders of the two parties would quarrel with each other because of their totally different views on the foreign policy of the government. While the Whigs approved of William's aggressive war against France, the Tories favored the cessation of hostilities. In 1694 the king therefore deemed it best to dismiss the Tories, and appointed Whigs in their places. For a while things worked more smoothly in Parliament, and the king thought that now he would be irritated less by its cumbersome machinery. Little did he know that, by choosing all of his ministers from one party only, he had increased their power. When the Tories secured a majority in Parliament, they compelled William to let his most eminent Whig ministers resign. The king also discovered that when the ministry commanded the support of a majority in Parliament, that is, if the ministry consisted of members of the same party as the majority in Parliament, he simply had to carry out the plans proposed by them. The influence of the ministers was rapidly beginning to overshadow the royal prerogative, and the time was to come when not the king, but the prime minister, would rule Great Britain.

The rise of the cabinet system is closely associated with the triumph of parliamentary government. Once it had become the custom to have all the ministers belong to that party which had a majority in Parliament, and to have the ministers resign in a body when their party lost its majority in Parliament,—and this happened at the end of William's reign,—it was but one step to the formation of the cabinet, which consists of a small number of the most prominent ministers. The ministry therefore includes the cabinet. All the members of the cabinet belong to the ministry, but not all the ministers are in the cabinet. Shortly before the year 1700, William began to consult regularly the four most prominent of his ministers. In do-

ing this, however, he was not inaugurating a new policy. Even the great Tudor monarchs had been assisted by a group of ministers or counselors, which formed the Privy Council. This council grew so unwieldy that a small inner circle finally took over the management of important affairs. It used to meet in a small room called the cabinet, where it conferred with the king, and for this reason received the appellation of cabinet council, and later of cabinet. However, the cabinet which now forms such an integral part of the British Parliament dates from the reigns of William III and his two immediate successors, when it became a regularly established custom for a limited number of ministers to act as a body and resign in a body.

William III was succeeded in 1702 by Queen Anne, the sister of Mary, his wife, and the younger daughter of James II. In her reign the government, in order to induce Portugal to join the Grand Alliance formed by William III, signed the Methuen Treaty (1703), providing that duties on Portuguese wines be lowered, and that the English merchants be allowed to sell their wares more freely in Portugal than had been the custom before. Since the year 1703 Portugal has been influenced greatly by English diplomacy, as was shown in the most recent war (1914–1918), when Portugal sided with England. Another important development in the reign was the Act of Union of 1707, which united England and Scotland. Instead of two separate parliaments, there was to be a joint Parliament for the "Kingdom of Great Britain." Forty-five members in the House of Commons and sixteen peers in the House of Lords represented Scotland. Out of the two separate flags of England and Scotland were formed the "Union Jack," where the square red cross of England was united with the diagonal white cross of Scotland.

Whereas Scotland was united to England on terms of equality, the Irish remained more like a conquered country. Many of their most prominent figures, rather than hew out an ignominious career in their downtrodden native land, emigrated to

France and other Catholic countries, where they breathed a freer atmosphere. Only Protestants could sit in the Irish parliament, although four fifths of the population were Catholics. The Protestant parliament, in order to maintain Protestant rule, passed laws which now seem most unfair. One of the land laws stated that, if one of the sons of Catholic parents turned Protestant, he was to inherit all of their lands. Some of the laws concerning education prohibited Catholics from entering a university, from becoming teachers, and from sending their children to a Catholic school, whether in Ireland or abroad. The Church of England was the established church of Ireland, while the Presbyterian church remained the state church of Scotland. The Protestants who imposed these harsh laws were mostly descendants of Scotch and English settlers, who had immigrated since the year 1610. The reason why they in turn became discontented was because Parliament at Westminster enacted a series of trade laws which were very disadvantageous to the whole of Ireland. Many of their descendants left Ireland during the eighteenth century. Those who came to North America were known there as the "Scotch-Irish."

Another step in the triumph of parliamentary government in England resulted from the extinction of the Stuart line of monarchs. When Queen Anne died in 1714, she left no children to inherit the throne, which now passed to the house of Hanover, since George I, the son of Sophia of Hanover, was her relative. George was a German, had never learned English, and naturally absented himself from the cabinet-meetings, with the result that the power of the cabinet increased materially. Queen Anne was the last ruler to exercise the right to veto bills passed by Parliament, for it had now become customary for Parliament to compel the king, if he was opposed to a bill, to sign it just the same. In 1707 the last case occurred of an English monarch who refused to sign a bill passed by Parliament. Since that year, the monarchs have signed all such bills as a matter of course, for, if a king refuses to sign, the

ministers will resign, and then the king will be confronted by their party (or parties) which always form a majority in Parliament. He cannot appoint a ministry from another party, for that party invariably lacks popular support.

George I favored the Whigs because the Tories were suspected of trying to place James, the son of James II, upon the throne. It was known that in 1715 many of the Tories had given aid to the "Old Pretender," as James was called, who sought to occupy the throne as James III. Thirty years later, the extreme Tories participated in the insurrection in Scotland, where Charles, the grandson of James II, attempted to overthrow the government. For this reason the Tory cause remained discredited for a period of about fifty years, leaving the Whigs in power from 1714 till 1761. It was during this period that Sir Robert Walpole was the chief minister for twenty-one years in succession (1721–1742). He was recognized as the "prime minister," that is, the chief of the ministers, who, though nominally appointed by the king, were controlled by his policies, while he himself was able to hold office only as long as the Whigs were satisfied with those policies. George I died during Walpole's ministry (1727), and was followed by George II (1727–1760), but it mattered little who was king of Great Britain. The power of the crown had mostly passed into the hands of the ministers, while they in turn became more and more dependent upon the will of the people.

The Anglo-French Duel for Empire

By the year 1713 England had acquired a number of colonies along the Atlantic from Georgia to Maine, Hudson Bay territory, Nova Scotia (Acadia), Newfoundland, a group of islands in the West Indies, and three small holdings in India. The French possessed the Mississippi valley, then named Louisiana, and the St. Lawrence valley, with adjoining territory, a number of islands in the West Indies, two small colonies in Africa, and two in India. The Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch

each held important districts, most of which remained in their possession while the English and French fought for supremacy in North America and India. Central and South America (except Brazil), the Philippines, Florida, and several large islands in the West Indies belonged to Spain; Brazil and a few unimportant strips of land in Africa to Portugal; and the East Indian Archipelago, Ceylon, Cape Colony in South Africa, Guiana, or Surinam, on the north coast of South America, and a few islands in the West Indies to Holland. Portugal, Spain, and Holland could now hope for no more than to hold what they had obtained during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their period of expansion had passed.

France and England, on the other hand, both expected to enlarge their overseas dominions. To Europeans, the world seemed so large that for two hundred years the English and French could increase their colonial possessions in America and Asia, without encroaching to a great extent on each other's colonies. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, they came in conflict, particularly in North America and in India. They waged a fierce combat for commercial, naval, and colonial supremacy, which at the end of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) was concluded in England's favor; although during two subsequent wars the French sought to regain some of the colonies lost in 1763.

There were several reasons why France lost this struggle. The very fact that its area was so large compared with that of England, its soil so fertile, and its climate so favorable for the pursuit of agriculture, kept the population from seeking a difficult living upon and beyond the seas. If the government of France, between 1585 and 1685, had persecuted the Protestants as the English government at various times persecuted the Puritans, the French colonies might have been more thickly populated by Frenchmen. But when Louis XIV in 1685 revoked the Edict of Nantes, which resulted in the emigration of more than 300,000 Huguenots, he prohibited the latter

160
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NORTH
AMERICA
Hudson Bay
HUDSON BAY COMPANY
NEW FRANCE
LOUISIANA
NEW MEXICO
VIRGINIA
TEXAS
NEW SPAIN
FLORIDA
BAHAMAS
BERMUDAS
ST DOMINIQUE
HISPANIOLA
PORTO RICO
GUADELOUPE
MARTINIQUE
CUBA
JAMAICA
GRENADA
BARBADOS
CARACAS
NEW GRANADA
Cayenne
GUIANA
PERU
SOUTH AMERICA
BRAZIL
CHILI
FALKLAND IS.
C. Horn
NEW-FOUNDLAND
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
BRITISH ISLES
AZORES
PORTUGAL
MADEIRA
CANARY IS.
CAPE VERDE IS.
Goree
SIERRA LEONE
Cape Coast Castle
ST HELENA
PACIFIC
OCEAN
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO., N.Y.

40
80
120
160
RUSSIA
EUROPE
SIBERIA
ASIA
JAPAN
PACIFIC
OCEAN
INDIA
Aracan
Bengal
Bombay
Goa
Madras
Pondicherry
CEYLON
Macao
FORMOSA
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
BORNEO
CELEBES
MOLUCCAS
NEW GUINEA
SUMATRA
Ft. York
JAVA
Dutch
INDIAN
OCEAN
Mozambique
MADAGASCAR
REUNION
Ft. Dauphin
Sofala
NEW HOLLAND
(AUSTRALIA)
THE WORLD
IN 1688
British Possessions
French Possessions
Dutch Possessions
Spanish Possessions
Portuguese Possessions

from going to the French colonies, so that they swelled the population in the very countries which were hostile to France, namely, England, Holland, and Brandenburg.

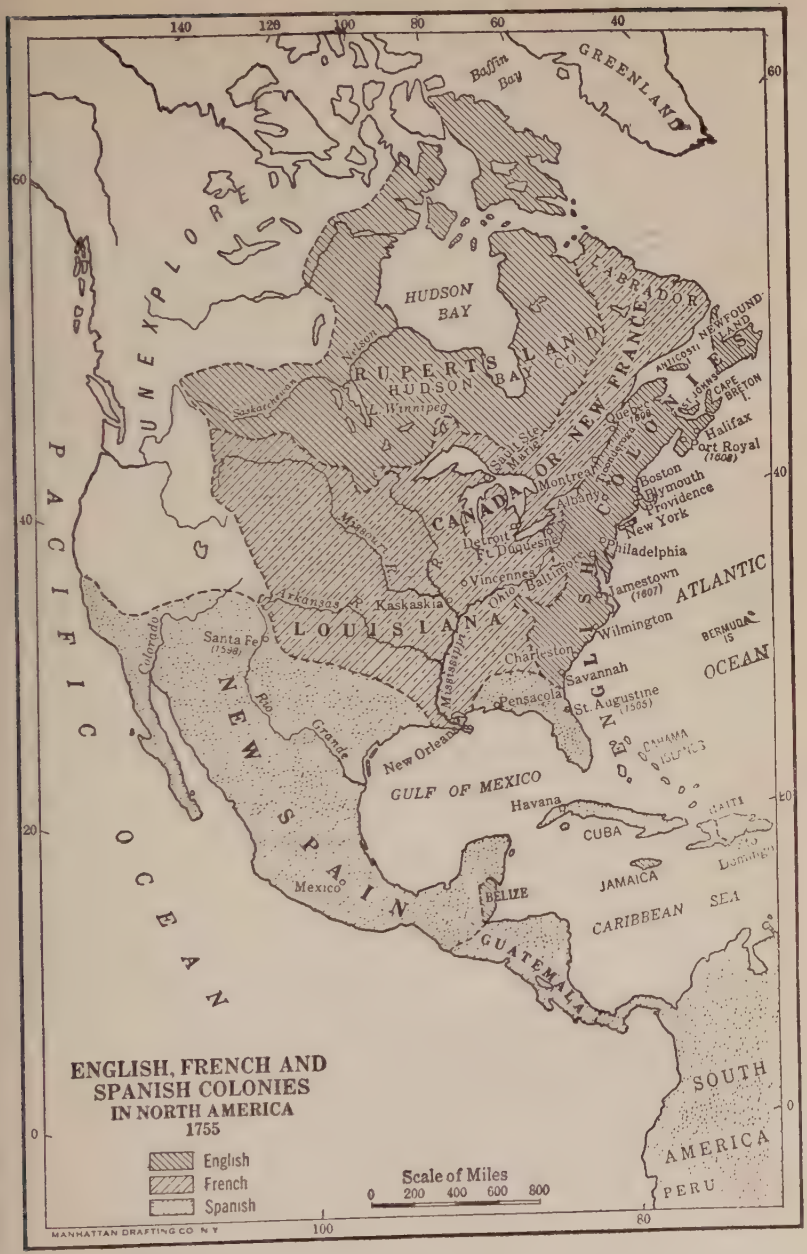
The resources of France would have enabled Louis XIV to construct a navy larger than those of England and Holland combined. Nevertheless he chose to divert his revenues into other channels. His ruinous wars for the extension of the French frontiers led to an inevitable neglect of the navy. Colbert's "mercantilism," although it helped to expand industry, stifled free and untrammeled enterprise. The real reason, however, why French industry and commerce failed to develop in a natural way was that in 1671 Colbert lost much of his influence. Louis XIV, through his despotic government, prevented his merchants and manufacturers from usurping power such as had been acquired by the Puritans in England. Again, the French did not naturally take to the sea. It seems plausible that no peoples become nations of seafarers if they are not forced to seek a living on the sea because of lack of fertile soil and other conditions which make for prosperity. Why was it that the French colonies in North America, although larger than the English, counted only 15,000 French inhabitants in 1700 as against 150,000 Englishmen in the English Colonies? To say that the English were more successful in building up great colonies, or that they took naturally to colonizing, means little. Frenchmen would just as enthusiastically have developed "New France" as the English developed New England, if conditions in France had been as unfavorable as they were in England, and if French Protestants had been permitted to emigrate to French colonies.

Many thousands of Englishmen were literally forced to seek a living on and beyond the seas. The rapid growth of a merchant marine was accompanied by the construction of warships; England needed no armies with which to extend her frontiers; the sea was her frontier. Agriculture was not developed sufficiently to support as large a part of England's

population as was the case with agriculture in France. Industry and seaborne commerce, protected by the Navigation Act of 1651, made the English less dependent on agriculture and helped to increase the growth of the middle classes, which finally became powerful enough to limit the power of the king, just as the upper classes, the nobles and higher clergy, had done in the Middle Ages. The English merchants and manufacturers thereupon compelled their king to recognize their class interests, and so to direct his foreign policies as to secure for them more markets abroad and more raw materials from the colonies. They had the same aims that inspired Colbert to increase the French navy, subsidize French commerce and industry, discriminate against Dutch merchants, and encourage settlement of Frenchmen in the French colonies (1661–1671). Colbert had stood alone and had been defeated. The Whigs in England represented a numerous and aggressive class of people, and they controlled the English government for half a century (1715–1761), while they had also exerted great influence in the reign of William III (1689–1702), whose foreign policies were nearly identical with theirs.

The Puritans, Independents, and Catholics who left England because of persecution, went mostly to the English colonies. Many of those who settled in the United Netherlands left the country later for New England. The English settlers were not so friendly to the Indians as were the French; for a time they seemed a source of great danger, but the English learned to defend themselves, instead of relying on protection by the government of their old country. They were able, therefore, to assist that country when the contest for colonial supremacy broke out. In sea power, number of settlers, and relation between crown and people, the English had the advantage. How they made use of this advantage will be shown in the following narrative.

In the War of the Spanish Succession, which is known in America as Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), the English


140
120
100
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Baffin Bay
GREENLAND
HUDSON BAY
LABRADOR
NEWFOUNDLAND
RUPERTS LAND
HUDSON BAY CO.
UNEXPLORED
Nelson
Saskatchewan
Winnipeg
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Quebec (1608)
Montreal
Albany
Detroit
Ft. Duquesne
Vincennes
Ohio
Baltimore
Philadelphia
New York
Boston
Plymouth
Providence
Halifax
Port Royal (1605)
CAPE BRETON I.
CANADA OR NEW FRANCE
THE COLONIES
Jamestown (1607)
Wilmington
Charleston
Savannah
St. Augustine (1565)
Pensacola
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BERMUDA IS.
BAHAMA ISLANDS
Missouri
Arkansas
Kaskaskia
LOUISIANA
Mississippi R.
Santa Fe (1598)
Colorado
Rio Grande
NEW SPAIN
New Orleans
GULF OF MEXICO
Havana
CUBA
HAITI
Dominica
JAMAICA
BELIZE
CARIBBEAN SEA
Mexico
GUATEMALA
PACIFIC OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA
PERU
ENGLISH, FRENCH AND SPANISH COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA 1755
English
French
Spanish
Scale of Miles
0 200 400 600 800
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO N Y

captured Port Royal (1710), and occupied Acadia, named later Nova Scotia. They failed, however, to take Quebec and Montreal, although they employed two armies with the combined strength of nearly 15,000 soldiers. The treaty of Utrecht, which ended the war in 1713, transferred several colonies from France to England, as was mentioned in the preceding chapter. The Spanish, who had been allied with the French, granted the English an important trade concession, called the Asiento (1713). It provided that English traders were permitted to sell negro slaves to the Spanish colonies in America at the rate of 4800 a year for thirty years, and to send a ship with a cargo of 800 tons once a year to Porto Bello on the Isthmus of Panama. The Asiento was canceled in 1750, however, when England accepted £100,000, as a compensation for renouncing this concession.

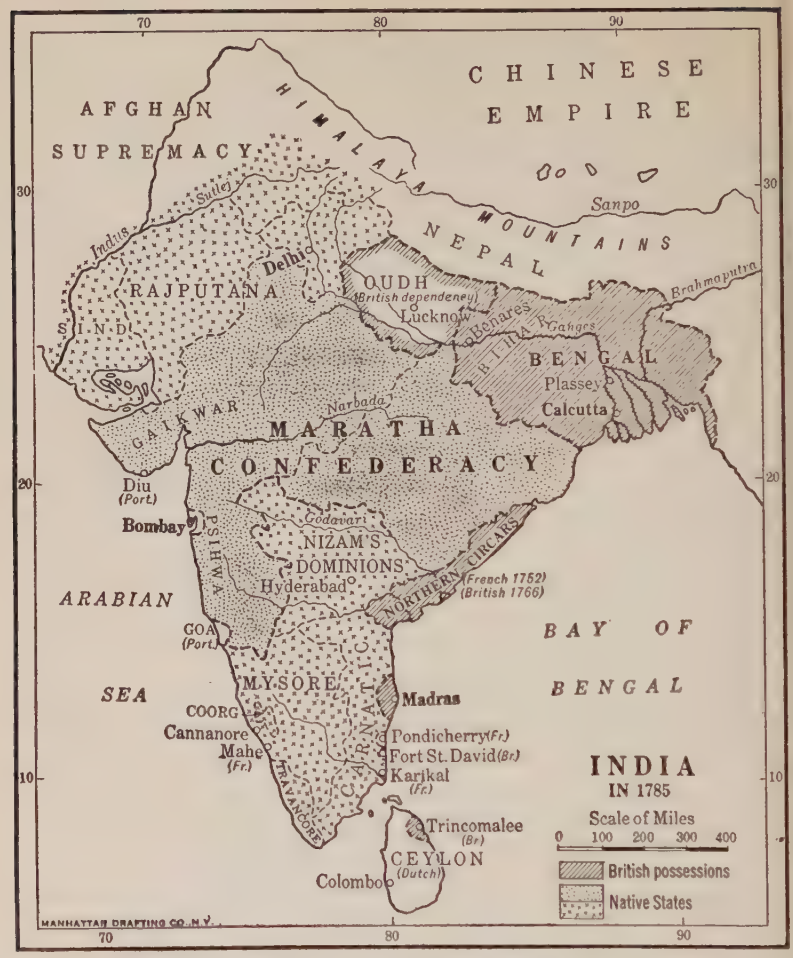
Between 1713 and the outbreak of the next war, the French, beginning at last to realize the importance of colonial possession, fortified the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, constructed a row of fortifications along the southern border of their Canadian possessions, and made a settlement at New Orleans (1718). The war in America fought between 1744 and 1748 was indecisive. It was called King George's War, because George II was at that time King of England. The conquests made by England were restored in 1748, and for six years after this there was peace.

Far more important than any of the previous contests was the "French and Indian War" (1754–1763). During the first three years of this war, the English met with a series of mishaps and reverses, such as the failures to take Fort Duquesne, Fort Niagara, and Crown Point (1755), the defeat of a fleet in the Mediterranean, and the loss of Minorca (1756). But the enthusiasm aroused by William Pitt, who had just entered the cabinet, brought about a great change. Thousands of volunteers joined the colonial army, new hopes were raised, new fleets sent out to America and India. The English army of

50,000 men proved more than a match for the French, who in 1758 lost the three forts just mentioned.

Even more eventful was the year 1759. The English forces not only captured Ticonderoga, but, under the leadership of General Wolfe, a force of 3600 won a decisive battle on the Plains of Abraham near Quebec, resulting in the fall of Quebec itself, while this event in turn led to the capture of Montreal in the following year. Although France received assistance from Spain in 1762, the war was lost. Spain had so greatly declined that her fleets and soldiers were of little consequence. When in 1763 the Treaty of Paris was signed, France had to surrender Canada and all her possessions east of the Mississippi, except New Orleans and two islands near Newfoundland, which were to be reserved for the use of French fishermen. Spain ceded Florida to England, while France, in order to compensate its ally for this loss, secretly turned over to the Spanish New Orleans and the territory west of the Mississippi, called Louisiana.

Equally disastrous for France were developments on the mainland of India. This huge peninsula, with its dense population of Hindus and Mohammedans, had for centuries been controlled by the Mongol Empire of Central Asia, but, during the first half of the eighteenth century, the empire of the Mongols had fallen to pieces, the rule of India being left to various officials and to native princes. The English East India Company had secured some land around Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, while the French East India Company held Pondicherry, near Madras, and a small district west of Calcutta. For several decades the two rival companies had maintained a strict neutrality, since they were interested solely in trading. But shortly after the year 1750 came a period of conflict between the French, led by their wily governor Dupleix, and the English, who counted among their ablest officials the audacious Clive. In 1754 the latter ousted the French from a long strip of land along the east coast, called the Carnatic.



Dupleix was now hastily recalled to France, and Clive proceeded to subdue an uprising of a native prince or nawab (nabob), in Calcutta, and to annex the adjoining French trading post (1756). In 1757 he won an overwhelming victory over French and native troops at Plassey, which was followed by the conquest of the whole of Bengal. When in 1761 the French post at Pondicherry fell into the hands of the British, the war

in India was ended. Great Britain had obtained undisputed possession of the east coast of India, with the exception of a small trading post still held by the Dutch, while on the west coast, the French, Dutch, and Portuguese retained a few scattered bits of territory when in 1763 the Treaty of Paris was signed. On the east coast the French were allowed to carry on trade in their former trading posts at Pondicherry, but they could no longer erect fortifications or maintain troops; they had been ejected from the mainland of India as colonizers.

The American Revolution

Ever since the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, the English colonies in America had drifted away from the mother country. The English settlers in New England perpetuated the tradition of opposition to the absolutism of the Stuart monarchy, and the intolerance of the Anglican church. Their ancestors had left England either for religious, political, social, or economic reasons; in most cases bitter memories of persecution or disgrace or poverty suffered in England were handed down to later generations, just as the hardships endured by the Irish in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries still are commemorated in the actions of many thousands of Americans who have never seen Ireland or England, but who are constantly being reminded by their grandparents of the tyranny of the English.

The descendants of the Puritans in England on the other hand came to realize that the men who had caused the downfall of absolutism had in turn become intolerant and tyrannical. Many Puritans had participated in the restoration of the monarchy and the Anglican church in and after the year 1660. When for the second time Stuart absolutism had become repugnant to the majority of Englishmen, when James II had been deposed, and parliamentary government had triumphed, the English cherished almost unbounded reverence for Parliament as an institution.

In the Colonies, where no obnoxious remnants of feudal and

other medieval institutions hampered the rapid development of representative government, no great reverence was felt for the privileged classes in society. The clergy exercised great influence, but that influence did not in itself tend to enhance the social prestige or the political power of the clergymen. In America there was no House of Lords composed of "Lords temporal," and "Lords spiritual." The mere fact that the inhabitants of the American colonies were unhampered by the vestiges of feudalism and serfdom, gave them a different outlook on political institutions from that cherished by the people of England. In the Colonies, therefore, the principles of democracy found a virgin soil and thrived, while in England they had to struggle against overwhelming odds. In the Colonies elections for political offices were rarely tainted by bribery and favoritism, while the principles of representative government quickly reached maturity. It was customary for members in the various colonial assemblies to represent their own districts as the properly elected candidates. In England, on the other hand, Parliament represented the people only in theory. The English were content to have Parliament elected by the people rather than appointed by the crown, and how it was elected did not matter a great deal. There were the so-called "rotten boroughs," for example, which contained few or no inhabitants at all, but were represented in Parliament by two members, while some of the great cities in northwestern England sent none.

The people of the Colonies held many grievances against the British government. They were anxious to obtain a voice in Parliament, but they seemed so far away from the mother country, so poor in resources, and so few in number (only 1,500,000, as against 9,000,000 in Great Britain) that their petitions were scarcely heeded in Parliament. They resented the Navigation Act of 1651, which had been followed by four similar acts (1660, 1663, 1672, and 1696). The British, in common with the other colonizing peoples of Europe, regarded

their colonies as fields of exploitation for the merchants and manufacturers of the mother country. Hence, the British regulated the trade of their colonies in an entirely selfish manner, seeking to confine it only to ships flying the British flag, and compelling colonial products to be shipped to England before they could be sent elsewhere, and most of the European products to pass through England while on their way to the Colonies, thus enabling English merchants to gain a handsome profit. As long as these navigation acts were not strictly enforced, they caused merely a political grievance, but about the year 1763, when Grenville had begun to watch colonial trade more carefully, they created intense resentment.

The Seven Years' War (1756–1763) added further grievances. Now that the French had been ousted from Canada, the Colonists no longer had to fear invasion from that direction, and therefore depended less on the protection of Great Britain. The war had increased the debt of the British government to £140,000,000, and English statesmen reasoned that the Colonies ought to share in the financial burdens of the home country, since British fleets and armies had protected them in time of war. Hence the Stamp Act and the Quartering Act were proposed, the former to secure revenues from the colonies, the latter to reduce the expenses of keeping an army in America. The Colonists, on the other hand, had done their share of the fighting, and the thought of having British troops quartered in the Colonies after the conclusion of the war spelled for them complete dependence on the British government, besides being an inconvenience and even a hardship.

The question now arose, Has Parliament any right to tax the Colonies without their consent? Several theories were propounded, of which that by Edmund Burke was no doubt the most practical, namely, that Parliament was justified in taxing them, but found it expedient not to do so.

Although the Colonists held many grievances against the British government and felt quite justified in defying King

George III and his Parliament, the latter also had reasons for harboring feelings of resentment. In the first place, the Colonies had openly evaded the navigation acts, none of which was any more unreasonable than similar acts passed by the Dutch and French governments. Furthermore, the rising of the Indians in 1763 showed that the Colonies were in need of protection by the home government. The British government had contracted debts to the amount of nearly £140,000,000; since many millions had been spent in the recent war in North America, the British statesmen reasoned that the Colonists ought to pay a part of this debt. Again, not only did the Colonies deny that Parliament had the right to tax them, but they claimed to be the subjects of the king and not of Parliament, wrongly assuming that Parliament, and not the king, was responsible for the measures to which they objected. Finally, the Colonies had drafted written constitutions and were accustomed to subject their legislature to the authority of the executive branch of the government, while the British had made Parliament virtually omnipotent. When Parliament, therefore, asserted its rights, the Colonists were not in a position to appreciate the prerogative of this institution. Hence the conclusion of Burke.

Burke's view was not, however, widely appreciated in England. English statesmen as a whole did not comprehend the divergence in colonial and British traditions; they misunderstood the grievances held by the Colonists, and condemned their aggressive and defiant attitude. It was not until the American colonies had been lost to the British Empire that the king and Parliament began to reform the British colonial system. In 1765 the Stamp Act was passed, but, as a result of resistance in the Colonies, it had to be repealed in the following year. The Townshend Acts of 1767, the Boston Massacre of 1770, the Boston Tea Party of 1773, and the four "penal laws" of 1774, all led directly to the War of the American Revolution, which broke out in 1775 and lasted until 1783.

In this war, Great Britain had the advantage of possessing a fleet which surpassed that of any other nation; its armies were well trained, its people resourceful, its wealth seemingly unlimited. The troops employed by the Colonies were lacking in experience, poorly equipped, and in many cases insubordinate. However, the Colonies were separated from Great Britain by an ocean three thousand miles in width, while their coastline was a thousand miles in length. There was much heroism displayed on both sides, but also much stupidity and lack of discipline. The sound leadership of General Washington and the noble sacrifices of his loyal supporters saved the Colonies during the first three years of the war, when complete defeat seemed often imminent. This perseverance on the part of the Colonists encouraged the French and Spanish to enter the war on their side, hoping to avenge the painful losses sustained in the "Seven Years' War." France declared war in 1778, Spain followed in 1779. Their assistance had a decisive effect on the outcome of the war. The entrance of the Dutch in 1780, however, harmed the cause of the Americans, since the neutrality of Holland had protected its fleets from attack by the English, and its sea power had so rapidly declined that the British fleet easily captured its merchant marine and huge stores of colonial products, which the Dutch had been smuggling to their islands in the West Indies. The financial support rendered by French and Dutch bankers, however, played an important part in the war. Great Britain was no match for so many enemies at once, and in 1783 it had to acknowledge defeat.

Peace was signed in three different places. By the Treaty of Paris, Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States, and permitted American fishermen to fish off the coast of Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The Treaty of Versailles, concluded with France and Spain, provided that the French receive a few small islands in the West Indies and recover their trading posts in India, and that the Spanish regain Florida and Minorca. A separate treaty

was signed with the Dutch in 1784, which opened the trade of the Malay or East Indian Archipelago to British merchants. The War of the American Revolution may have taught the British a costly lesson, but it was a lesson well worth learning. Although they had lost their most valuable colonies, they had so much left that they found it greatly worth-while to reform their colonial system. India was accorded an improved form of government under the Board of Control created in 1784 by Parliament. Ireland, from 1782 till 1800, enjoyed the privilege of making its own local laws. Furthermore, the commercial policy of the British government underwent a marked transformation, although it took several decades to complete the change. The mercantilist theories slowly gave way to the principles of free trade, for the British traders were now becoming so efficient and energetic that they no longer feared competition by Dutch or French merchants. In the nineteenth century, Great Britain was the leading exponent of "free trade."

The reforms inaugurated by the British were fruitful in practical results. Whereas the Colonists had boycotted English products before the year 1775, they now freely purchased them. British trade in South America increased by leaps and bounds, while in Asia new avenues of commerce were constantly being opened. The addition of new colonies in Africa and Asia, and the acquisition of the continent of Australia and the islands of New Zealand, partly compensated for the loss of the American colonies. In the meantime, the expansion in industry in the mother country was keeping pace with the growth of the dominions abroad. Trade and industry, the two indispensable sinews of national prosperity, enriched the British Isles so that, at the outbreak of the war with Napoleon, the government saw at its disposal the necessary resources with which to destroy the huge empire constructed by the Corsican statesman, and thus to save the continental peoples of Europe from subjection to the military despotism of a misguided genius.

The Industrial Revolution

In 1750 Great Britain had a population of about nine millions, of which four fifths still lived in rural communities. The nobles and the higher clergy still exercised an influence altogether out of proportion to their relatively small numbers. Although feudalism and serfdom were things of the past, the aristocracy wielded great power and commanded respect from the common people. The dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons; and even the lesser nobles lived in magnificent manors, but the freeholders and tenants in humble homes, while the latter in turn ranked considerably above the men and women who worked for wages, whether on the farm or in the homes of the well-to-do middle classes. The number of freeholders or yeomen had greatly declined, which was partly due to the enclosures of small farms. Presently the factories in the new centers of industry in northwestern England began to attract many thousands of men and women from the rural districts, so that the ratio between urban and rural population rapidly changed in favor of the former. The sweeping changes experienced by the English people during the latter half of the eighteenth century were largely caused by a great transformation in industry, which is usually called the Industrial Revolution, and which had its origin in England, whence it spread later to the continent of Europe.

There were several reasons why the Industrial Revolution originated in England. In the first place, the increased demand for manufactures produced in England, caused by the rapid growth of the British colonies, acted as a stimulus to the expansion of British industries. Once the great duel for empire had been won by England, and its navy recognized as the mistress of the seas, English commerce could freely enter immense fields in America, Asia, and Africa, which hitherto had been closed to British traders. While the British empire was fast rising to power, the colonies of the other European nations

were making little progress. Great Britain was taking the place held early in the seventeenth century by Holland,—a country much smaller than England, lacking in mineral resources, and but poorly situated; and yet the emporium of the whole civilized world. If little Holland could control four fifths of European seaborne trade, and develop textile industries surpassing those of other European countries, England, with greater area and greater resources, would inevitably follow in the wake of its neighbor across the North Sea. More than that, it went beyond the limited scope attained by Dutch industry and commerce; it inaugurated so vast a movement in industry that the whole material aspect of civilization has undergone a greater transformation than took place in all the preceding centuries.

Deposits of coal and iron, favorable climatic conditions, fertile soil, and other advantages of a similar nature, mean little if the hand of progress does not touch the fundamental needs of industry. England enjoyed the same advantages in the way of resources and location which had been its heritage in earlier periods, and which it still retains. But it so happened that at the moment when Europe was ready for the great transformation in industry, the tide of material wealth had reached the shores of the North Sea and the Atlantic. The damp climate of England, which is favorable to the textile industry; the juxtaposition of the rich coal and iron deposits in the northwestern counties, as well as their proximity to the sea; the abundance of water power afforded by the swift streams in the mountainous districts, and, finally, the insular position of Great Britain, were highly advantageous to the rapid growth of industry in England at the end of the eighteenth century. But it is very doubtful whether all of these advantages really were required for England's predominant share in the early development of the Industrial Revolution. They certainly would have proved of little value without the sea power and the rapidly growing colonial empire acquired by Great Britain. As con-

trasted with France, England was favored further by the influx of foreign artisans, who had been compelled to leave their homes on the Continent because of religious intolerance and destructive war. The decline of the gild system with its rigid regulations, and the absence of governmental interference, such as marked the reign of Louis XIV during the ministry of Colbert, also gave the English an advantage over the French. Spain, Prussia, and Russia were no serious rivals at this time. America and Asia merely provided raw materials for English industries, and markets for English products. England was destined to outdistance completely all her competitors.

For more than a century, the chief industry in England had been the manufacture of woolen goods. The woolsack, a cushion of wool, on which the Lord Chancellor sat when he presided over the meetings in the House of Lords, symbolized the importance of this industry. But the introduction of cotton goods at the beginning of modern times had created a demand for cheaper cloth. The British colonies were amply able to provide raw material for the production of cottons, and so it naturally happened that the outstanding inventions in the middle of the eighteenth century were largely the indirect result of the greatly increased demand for cheaply made cotton goods.

The first of the more important inventions was made by John Kay, who in 1733 constructed a simple but extremely useful device, called the flying-shuttle. Before this the shuttle which carried the thread of the weaver across the lengthwise threads, or simply, the weft across and through the warp, had to be guided by the weaver's hand. It had been impossible for one workman to weave cloth more than three quarters of a yard wide, and the process had naturally been slow. Kay's fly shuttle enabled the weaver, by merely pulling a string, to throw the shuttle from side to side, which meant a great saving in time. But it did not help to speed up the work of the spinners, who could not supply thread fast enough for the weavers. Kay

and several other inventors tried to remedy the situation, but practically no improvement was made in the spinning industry until James Hargreaves, about 1765, invented the "spinning jenny," which simultaneously spun eight threads in a row. It was installed in hundreds of cottages throughout the northwestern counties of England, for it was simple enough to be run by a child. Great though these two inventions by Kay and Hargreaves were in practical results, the inventors received slight returns and still less appreciation. They were attacked by crowds of workingmen, who believed that the inventions would cause widespread unemployment.

In spite of opposition by the artisans, the inventions grew in number. A great improvement resulted from the machine patented in 1775 by Richard Arkwright, whose "water frame" was run, first by horse power and later by water power; it spun harder and firmer thread than the "spinning jenny," and it worked more rapidly. Four years later (1779), Samuel Crompton combined the best features of the "spinning jenny" and the "water frame" by constructing a "spinning mule," which not only spun rapidly, but produced as fine a thread as was made by the "jenny." Spinning had now been so greatly improved that the weavers could no longer keep ahead of the spinners. In 1785, however, Edward Cartwright patented the "water loom," and restored the balance between spinning and weaving. The machines invented by Arkwright, Crompton, and Cartwright were too expensive and too heavy for operation in the cottages of the artisans. Arkwright, therefore, established a number of factories, where steam power was used as early as the year 1783. Before the year 1790 the number of spinning factories in England had grown to one hundred and fifty, and Arkwright is often referred to as "the father of the factory system."

Spinning and weaving were only two branches of the cotton industry which were affected by the new inventions. Before cotton could be spun, it had to go through a variety of processes,

and one of these was greatly improved by the invention of the cotton gin, constructed in 1792 by Eli Whitney, not in England, where cotton was spun, but in North America, where it was grown. It should be borne in mind that the pressure exerted by increasing demand is one of the chief reasons why inventions are made. The English inventions called for more cotton; they required cheaper cotton as well. Whitney met the demand with his machine, which picked the seeds out of cotton as rapidly as fifty negroes could do it. Carding machines were invented to expedite the "carding" of cotton, that is, straightening the fibers in preparation for spinning. Bleaching machines appeared which bleached cloth with chemicals in a few hours, instead of having the sun do the same work in about six months. Shortly after the year 1785, machines were perfected to print figures and designs on cotton goods.

It was not long before other industries followed the lead of the spinning industry in transferring the guidance of manufacturing processes from human hands to machines. Woolen and all other textile industries began to speed up production. Water power became ever more a necessity, and soon it proved wholly inadequate. Not only was the amount of water available for the mills subject to changes in the weather, but it was often difficult to obtain enough labor at the places where rivers afforded the required water power. Once more the pressure of demand resulted indirectly in an invention; this time it was the steam engine constructed by James Watt about the year 1765.

Watt's invention proved to be a combination of many previous inventions. Before the year 1700 steam engines had been used in France to pump water. In 1705 Newcomen patented an engine which was an improvement upon the French "steam pump"; after the year 1718, his so-called "fire engines" were used to pump water out of English mines. In 1763 Watt began to make an improvement on the steam engine of Newcomen. His new machine was patented in 1769, and within twenty

years further devices made it possible for the piston in Watt's engine to turn the wheels of machinery, such as the "water frame," the "spinning mule," and the "water loom." Assisted by a wealthy manufacturer named Matthew Boulton, who supplied the required capital, James Watt finally succeeded in applying the use of his steam engine to the propelling of heavy machinery.

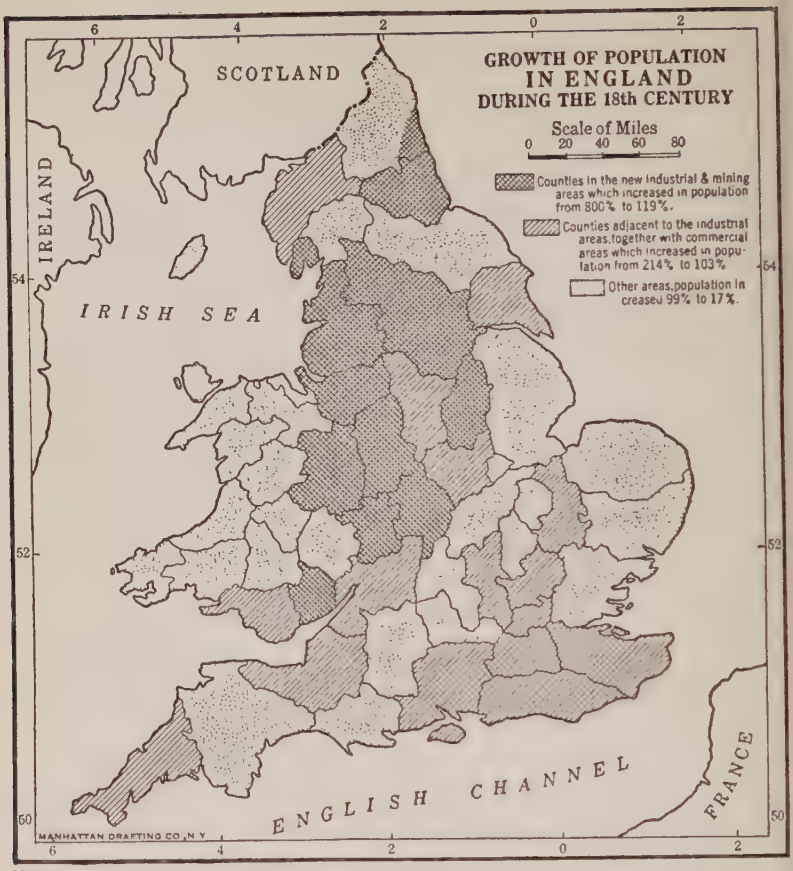
The increased demand for iron and steel, resulting from the rapid production of machinery, led to further inventions. The iron industry had never been carried on extensively in England, because charcoal was used as fuel for smelting iron, and wood was scarce in England. The timber famine caused a change from charcoal to coke, which change was largely the work of a family of Coalbrookdale, named the Darbys. Early in the eighteenth century one of the Darbys began to substitute coke for charcoal, and from 1730 to 1735 another member of the family carried on successful experiments with the production and use of coke. It was not until the year 1760, however, that coke proved entirely satisfactory, for the blowing machine perfected by John Smeaton in this year provided the necessary means of making coke burn properly. The new blowing machine increased the draft in the furnaces where iron ore was smelted.

Equally important was the work of Henry Cort, who improved the reverberatory furnace and the process of puddling. The main problem in the smelting and refining of iron was to regulate the amount of carbon. If the iron contained more than 2% carbon, it became cast iron and too brittle for most industrial uses. It was necessary first to remove the carbon and the impurities, and then to reintroduce exactly the right amount of carbon in order to produce wrought iron. As early as the year 1766 the process of refining iron in a reverberatory furnace was invented at Coalbrookdale; seventeen years later Cort added the art of puddling, which separated the cinder from the metal. Instead of bringing the iron into direct contact with the fuel, the new furnace passed heated gases over the metal.

Once having learned to use coke for fuel in the furnaces, the great ironmasters soon found a way of profitably burning coal. And after the application of the steam engine, which enabled miners to increase the quantity of coal mined in England, substantial progress was made in the production of iron. The steam engine in turn necessitated the use of iron in the construction of ships, for wood could not withstand the vibrations of the steam engines. The first iron ship was built by Wilkinson, who was thought mad, because he made iron float on the water. In 1779 the same Wilkinson, in conjunction with one of the Darbys, built the first iron bridge over the Severn. At about the same time machines were constructed for the production of rods and bars, and of sheet iron. It is not too much to say, therefore, that the development of the iron industry, though frequently underestimated, is fully as important as the manufacture of textiles. The use of iron underlies the whole Industrial Revolution.

One striking feature of the Industrial Revolution was the growing demand for improved transportation facilities. Whereas England had lagged far behind several continental countries in the construction of roads and canals, the latter half of the eighteenth century witnessed a great change. In 1761 the first canal with locks was completed in England under the supervision of James Brindley, the steward of the duke of Bridgewater, whose coal mines now were connected by this canal with Manchester; and from Manchester the canal was extended to the Mersey, where Liverpool was situated. Many other canals were dug later, which proved of inestimable benefit to the country, since most of the roads were still in a poor condition. The improvement of roads, however, surpassed in value the construction of canals.

The results of the Industrial Revolution were numerous and far-reaching. The movement strengthened the economic position of England, providing the resources which the country so sorely needed in its terrific struggle with Napoleon. It caused


GROWTH OF POPULATION
IN ENGLAND
DURING THE 18th CENTURY
Scale of Miles
0 20 40 60 80
Counties in the new industrial & mining areas which increased in population from 800% to 119%.
Counties adjacent to the industrial areas, together with commercial areas which increased in population from 214% to 103%
Other areas, population increased 99% to 17%.
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
IRISH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FRANCE
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO., N.Y.
6 4 2 0 2
54
52
50

a shifting of the centers of population from southeastern England to the counties in the northwest, and it drew people away from rural districts to the factories. It helped to create a new class of capitalists, the manufacturers, who were destined to make their power felt in the next century; it also aided in creating the large class of factory workers. It gave rise to great cities, like Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield, and it stimulated the growth of Liverpool and Glasgow. It caused many a transformation in social customs, and, if one considers how small comparatively was its scope before the

year 1800, he must come to the conclusion that the movement in its wider aspect, which is still in the process of development and growth, has become the greatest power for material well-being ever witnessed in the history of civilization.

SUGGESTED READINGS

The Triumph of Parliamentary Government in England

A. L. Cross, *A Shorter History of England and Greater Britain,* chapters XXXVI–XL.

W. T. Morgan, *English Political Parties and Leaders during the Reign of Queene Anne.* A scholarly work.

F. W. Maitland, *The Constitutional History of England, periods* III, IV and V. A trustworthy and readable account by a distinguished scholar.

D. J. Medley, *A Student's Manual of English Constitutional History.* Although not interesting, yet useful for reference. Treatment is by topic, and one can secure much valuable information in a comparatively short time.

M. T. Blauvelt, *The Development of the Cabinet Government in England.* Brief and easy to follow.

E. Jenks, *Parliamentary England; the Evolution of the Cabinet System.*

J. Morley, *Sir Robert Walpole.* A very fine biography.

W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century,* 7 vols. A work of great literary merit. The first volume is especially good.

P. H. Brown, *The Legislative Union of England and Scotland.*

The Anglo-French Duel for Empire

A. L. Cross, *A Shorter History of England and Greater Britain,* chapter XLI.

J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States,* chapter VI.

W. H. Woodward, *A Short History of the Expansion of the British Empire,* chapters I–V.

J. Fiske, *New France and New England.* A very useful book; entertaining and stimulating.

A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power on History.*

A. D. Innes, *A Short History of the British in India.*

G. B. Malleson, *History of the French in India.*

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States,* chapters VIII–IX. Chapter VIII is very good; it describes the causes of the Revolution.

A. L. Cross, *A Shorter History of England and Greater Britain,* chapters XLII, XLIII.

E. Channing, *History of the United States,* vol. III. The best account in many respects.

C. H. Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution.*

C. H. Van Tyne, *The American Revolution.* Well written and very accurate.

J. Fiske, *American Revolution,* 2 vols. Entertaining.

A. Hassall, *The Balance of Power,* 1715–1789. This volume admirably explains the international situation during the period.

G. L. Beer, *Commercial Policy of Great Britain toward the United States.*

G. L. Beer, *British Colonial Policy.*

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

W. Bowden, *Industrial Society in England towards the End of the Eighteenth Century.*

H. de B. Gibbins, *Industry in England,* chapters XX, XXI.

H. T. Wood, *Industrial England in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century.*

E. P. Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England.*

A. P. Usher, *The Industrial History of England,* chapters XII, XIII.

W. T. Jackson, *The Development of Transportation in Modern England,* vol. I.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Spain, Portugal, and Holland were rapidly declining; when the leading states on the Italian Peninsula remained under the domination of foreign governments; when the Balkan peoples lost nearly all vestiges of religious and political independence; when France and England assumed the rôle of the two superior powers in Europe,—a new state developed on the southern shores of the Baltic Sea and gradually annexed surrounding territories, so that in the middle of the eighteenth century it became a power of the first rank, which in the reign of Frederick the Great (1740–1786) successfully held the combined armies of France and Austria at bay, and enabled the government of Great Britain to concentrate nearly all its activities on the destruction of the French colonial empire in Canada and India.

The rise of Brandenburg-Prussia forms an important episode in modern history. When one considers the disastrous results of the Thirty Years' War in the German states of the Holy Roman Empire and the difficulties confronting the rulers who tried to elevate the mark of Brandenburg above all the surrounding countries, one must conclude that the results of their endeavors were truly amazing. At the very time when powerful national states were being formed in western Europe, the countries east of the Rhine, which had been uncommonly prosperous at the end of the Middle Ages, were subjected to a series of invasions by plundering armies, saw their fields devas-

tated for many years in succession, their villages destroyed in scores of localities, their cities ruined, their cattle stolen, their commerce and industry vanishing, their universities declining.

Time heals many wounds; sick bodies and sick nations often revive after a long period of disintegration. The German states also recovered, but the curious fact in their recovery was that not the territories which formerly had been the most opulent, not the districts along the Rhine, nor those near Austria, but the poverty-stricken margravate of Brandenburg first rose to prominence. It was this state which prevented the rest of Germany from falling a prey to Russian invasion and French annexation. Whereas Holland, Scandinavia, and France successfully protected the Protestant states of the Empire during the Thirty Years' War, the foreign policy of France was reversed almost immediately after the termination of this war. For more than a hundred years the French did more than strive to weaken the power of the Habsburg emperors; they attempted to annex all territories in Germany they could, regardless of ownership by Habsburg or other princes.

Neither Holland, nor Great Britain, nor Scandinavia was in a position during the eighteenth century to save the states of northern and western Germany from invasion by the French or the Russians. Hence the great significance of the rise of Prussia, which not only hurled back the French armies beyond the Rhine, but finally, after a period of deep humiliation during the Napoleonic Wars, surpassed Austria and helped to create the German Empire, the greatest nation on the European continent. "Cradled in the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, nourished by the falseness and the tyranny of Frederick William (1640–1688), ushered into manhood by the cynical ambition of Frederick the Great (1740–1786), she has yet become in her steady protest against French domination one of the chief bulwarks of European order, in her assertion of German unity the center of the noblest of German aspirations."

Brandenburg and East Prussia

The mark, or margravate of Brandenburg, situated near the heart of Germany, was one of the poorest districts of the whole Empire. Its sandy plains, many of which were fit only for the growth of useless heather, its numerous marshes, its unfavorable climate, and its lack of natural boundaries made it very difficult for any statesman to raise it to the rank of such countries as Spain, Holland, or Austria. And yet this is what the Hohenzollerns chose to accomplish. Their achievement must seem all the more remarkable when one examines the map of Europe at the opening of the seventeenth century. Here was a country without mineral resources, without a seacoast, protected by no natural boundaries, and thinly populated. Before the Thirty Years' War, Brandenburg showed little promise of becoming the nucleus of the greatest military power in Europe. At the conclusion of this war the condition of its inhabitants was pitiable. Then followed the rule of Frederick William, the Great Elector, who by his cunning, ambition, and industry rescued the benighted people of Brandenburg from further disasters and started them on the road to progress.

As early as the year 1415 the house of Hohenzollern had secured possession of the mark of Brandenburg, and Frederick I, the reigning member of the house, became *graf,* or count of the mark, and therefore he was called a margrave. His successor, Frederick II, built a fortress in Berlin, which was the capital of Brandenburg, and bought from the Teutonic Knights the district named New Mark, which stretched from the Oder River into Pomerania.

In the year 1525 the Order of the Teutonic Knights, which possessed East Prussia, became affected so strongly by the teachings of Martin Luther that the order was dissolved and its territory transformed into the duchy of East Prussia, to be governed by the grand master of the order, who happened to be

Albert, of the house of Hohenzollern. Since the title conferred hereditary possession upon him and since his branch of the family was merged in 1618 with the branch established in Brandenburg, John Sigismund, margrave of Brandenburg, became in 1618 the duke of East Prussia. Sigismund and his predecessors ever since the beginning of the fifteenth century had also been electors of the Holy Roman Empire.

Both in Brandenburg and in East Prussia the political power of the ruler was checked by an assembly of nobles and burghers, called the diet. In East Prussia this diet was particularly active in checking the ruler's will because the Prussians and the king of Poland had raised serious objections to the annexation of the country to Brandenburg. While Brandenburg lay within the limits of the Holy Roman Empire and its ruler had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the emperor, the duchy of East Prussia remained till 1657 a feudal dependency of Poland, wherefore its duke was subject to the authority of the king of Poland. It naturally became the task of the new duke of East Prussia and of his successors, to limit and possibly to destroy the functions of the diets, and to weaken the authority of the Emperor and of the king of Poland.

Before the year 1640 the electors of Brandenburg made little progress in strengthening the central government. Not satisfied with the acquisition of East Prussia, John Sigismund sought to gain possession of some valuable territories in western Germany, near the Dutch Republic. Here lay the duchies of Cleves, Mark, and Ravensberg, to which the elector of Brandenburg lay claim, because he had married the granddaughter of the duke of Cleves. In 1614, after bitter disputes with another German prince, the margrave secured Cleves, Mark, and Ravensberg, while his rival gained possession of two other districts near Cleves. During the Thirty Years' War the elector was unable to impose his authority on the inhabitants of his newly acquired duchies. Spanish and Dutch armies alternately occupied much of the territory; and finally, when Spain had

been defeated by Holland, the disputed duchies were largely controlled by the Dutch. It was not until 1666 that Brandenburg actually annexed them.

Another area coveted by the elector of Brandenburg was Pomerania, a long and rather narrow strip of land stretching along the south coast of the Baltic Sea. If this valuable territory could be obtained, it would nearly unite Brandenburg with East Prussia. Shortly after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, the successor of John Sigismund adopted a policy of neutrality, hoping to profit by the disintegration of neighboring states. Little did he realize the menace of defeat for his own country after his Protestant rivals had succumbed to the armies of Tilly and Wallenstein! Instead of obtaining for himself the coveted territory north of Brandenburg, the elector stood helplessly by when Gustavus Adolphus occupied Pomerania, and he and Tilly marched their brutal armies through the peaceful villages and rural districts of Brandenburg, appropriating for themselves the cattle and the crops of the defenseless margravate.

As long as Gustavus Adolphus lived, there was no chance for the elector of securing a foothold in Pomerania. Even after the death of the renowned Swedish general, his government informed the elector that it intended to keep what Gustavus Adolphus had wrested from the enemy at a great risk. Why should Sweden surrender Pomerania, after it had fought so valiantly in behalf of the Protestant princes; and least of all, why surrender it to a man who had made no efforts whatsoever to assist the Swedes in their costly campaign? It was true that the elector of Brandenburg was the rightful heir of the old duke of Pomerania, but the Swedes insisted on the validity of a claim which rested on the force of arms. Hence Sweden for a time became the enemy of Brandenburg, and Swedish armies cared not how miserable the people in that district became as the result of their devastating marches through the unfortunate margravate. In 1628 the crestfallen elector, unable any

longer to find revenues for his court in the impoverished country of his ancestors, removed the court to Königsberg in East Prussia. Here he passed away in the year 1640, leaving to his son, Frederick William, a number of widely scattered domains, most of which had passed into the hands of other rulers.

The Great Elector

It has long been customary for students of history to pass lightly over the reign of Frederick William, the Great Elector, and to hurry on to the reign of the much more celebrated Frederick the Great, because the latter occupied a larger place in contemporary politics. However, it must be granted by all keen observers that the task confronted by the former required extraordinary talent and industry, and that without the achievement of the Great Elector his illustrious descendant could never have defeated an Austrian or a French army, as he probably would have inherited little more than the duchy of East Prussia, and that country, although its name was later applied to a vast territory, was no fitting home for a large and flourishing population.

It is difficult to appreciate the wretched condition prevailing in northern Germany when Frederick William succeeded his father as elector of Brandenburg and duke of East Prussia. Even a country like Poland, which had taken no active share in the Thirty Years' War, and which had not suffered the ill effect of plundering armies constantly crossing its territory, shared in the wave of gloom which seemed to have settled permanently upon the southern shores of the Baltic Sea. The great port of Danzig, which in 1619 had exported more than 100,000 tons of goods from Poland and surrounding territory, could barely load a cargo of 500 tons in the year 1649. As for Brandenburg, that country was in an indescribable plight. Was there ever any war more horrible than the Thirty Years' War? During one of the battles, at its close, there were, for example,

on the Emperor's side 34,000 combatants and 127,000 women, children, and useless men. And who was to feed and clothe them except the inhabitants of the territories through which the armies marched? Who was to punish the men that robbed and plundered at their own discretion, and who committed those unspeakable moral crimes of which contemporary sources speak so voluminously and so reproachfully?

It must have surprised many that no country gained so much territory in Germany at the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War as did Brandenburg-Prussia. By the Treaties of Westphalia in 1648 this insignificant state added East Pomerania, the greater part of the archbishopric of Magdeburg, the bishoprics of Halberstadt and Minden; and it secured practical control of the duchies of Cleves, Mark, and Ravensberg. This gain resulted not from occupation by force of arms, not from expenditures of vast sums of money, not from years of costly campaigns, but from the diplomacy and the industry of one man, the Great Elector. As for Holland, which had wrested Cleves from the hands of Spanish and Austrian generals, which had absolute control of the Baltic Sea, had subsidized Swedish armies, and had indirectly helped to maintain the independence of Brandenburg, this country received not one inch of German territory.

So the question naturally arises, What sort of a man was the Great Elector, how did he in the space of eight years emerge from distant Königsberg in East Prussia and secure so much for doing so little? He had been born in 1620, and was sent at the age of fifteen to the University of Leyden in Holland, which at that time was the foremost center of learning in Protestant Europe. For four years he remained in Holland, where he saw to his amazement that out of barren sand dunes, swamps, and even lakes, the patient Dutch had made fertile garden soil. Like Brandenburg, the country was lacking in natural resources, was small in area, not blessed with much fertile soil; worse than that, it was threatened by the waves of the

sea and the torrents of rivers flowing above surrounding lowlands. Foreigners said of Holland that it had more wood and more grain than the countries around the Baltic, for Dutch gold had bought timber in Sweden and grain in Poland. Why could not Brandenburg emulate Holland? He also observed the thriving textile industries in Leyden, and may well have asked why Brandenburg could not have such industries? Holland produced very little wool and flax, yet it manufactured more woolen goods than did England, and more linen than did Germany. Holland employed armies which were surpassed nowhere in Europe, for Frederick Henry, of the House of Orange, even defeated the most capable Spanish generals, while these in turn outclassed the French, the Swedes, and the Germans.

When Frederick William returned to his native land in 1639, a youth of nineteen, imbued with all the exuberance and superabundant vitality young men so often possess, he was determined that Brandenburg-Prussia should remain no longer the playground of Swedish soldiers, the toy of the Emperor, or the pawn of the king of Poland. At the death of his father in 1640, he immediately set out on his new task, to centralize the government, to secure at least a part of Pomerania, and to free East Prussia from Polish suzerainty. First of all, he deprived his father's chief minister, who warmly supported the Emperor, of nearly all executive power, and took charge himself of civil and military affairs. Next he began negotiations with Sweden for a treaty of neutrality, since Sweden was still at war with the Emperor and kept on sending troops through Brandenburg. The treaty was concluded in 1643, restoring the harassed margravate to a condition of tranquillity.

In East Prussia the Great Elector succeeded in sowing dissension between the nobles, who represented the rural districts, and the delegates sent to the diet by the towns. The latter had shown determined opposition to his rule, but the support rendered to the elector by the influential nobles neutralized

the antagonism of the burghers, and enabled Frederick William to secure recognition from his feudal lord, the king of Poland. Now he was able to reorganize the finances of his country and to train his army, so that at the end of the Thirty Years' War, when all the states of northern Germany were exhausted, he could press his claim with a comparatively strong army. Sweden for a few years kept Eastern Pomerania under military control, but the Great Elector, appreciating the value of patience and suave diplomacy, waited graciously till in 1653 the last soldiers employed by Sweden had left Eastern Pomerania.

Once having extended the frontiers of Brandenburg to the Baltic, the Great Elector commenced the task of centralizing his government at the expense of the local diets. In Brandenburg he met with little opposition, since his subjects clearly perceived the advantages accruing from the exercise of absolute executive power by a ruler whose primary aim was to make his country strong and prosperous.[1] The Germans living in Brandenburg preferred prosperity under a despotic ruler to poverty and possible invasion under a democratic government. The inhabitants of East Prussia and of Cleves, on the other hand, regarded the Great Elector too much as a foreigner to conform their ideals to his drastic actions, wherefore he resorted to the use of armed force to keep the local diets in submission, while the diet of Brandenburg, like the Estates-General in France from 1614 to 1789, was completely ignored.

In 1655 a war broke out between Sweden and Poland, which offered Frederick William an opportunity to make the duchy of East Prussia completely independent of the king of Poland. First by assisting the Swedes in their invasion of Poland, then

[1] Students of history who implicitly adhere to the principles of democracy should carefully observe how the French under Henry IV (1593–1610) and under Richelieu (1624–1642) gladly noted the efficiency of their strongly centralized government, and how the English under the Tudors (1488–1603), and particularly in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, applauded many measures adopted by their monarch which savored of absolutism but tended to exalt England as a nation.

by enlisting the governments of Denmark and Russia in an attack on the Swedish forces, and finally by enabling Poland to defeat Sweden, the elector won a reward for his duplicity in a treaty signed with the Polish king in 1657, granting the independence of East Prussia. When Charles, the Swedish king, learned the results of the elector's intrigues, his anger knew no bounds. In the winter of 1657–58 he marched at the head of an army across the straits into Denmark, made peace with the Danes, and proceeded to march on East Prussia. But the Dutch, who controlled the commerce of the Baltic Sea, and did not wish to see all of its shores occupied by the Swedish armies, declared war on Sweden, thus ending for the time being the menace of Swedish revenge. The armies of the Great Elector could not have saved their country from Swedish invasion, but again, without adequate sea power the Swedes could make no conquests south of the Baltic Sea. Hence the combatants quickly came to terms. Denmark agreed to surrender nearly all the territory which it had retained on the mainland of Sweden; all conquests made by the respective combatants were restored, and Poland reaffirmed the independence of East Prussia. The three treaties signed by Sweden, Denmark, Brandenburg, Poland, and Russia are usually referred to as the Treaty of Oliva (1660); the last one of the three, that between Sweden and Russia, was signed in 1661.

Once again Brandenburg obtained favorable terms without having done much fighting, while Poland and Sweden, despite enormous expenditures, gained nothing. Once again the Dutch, through their sea power, had restored peace in the Baltic, and this time they had actually dislodged the Swedish armies from Denmark and had destroyed the Swedish fleet. While England and France were exhorting the Baltic powers to make peace, the Dutch admiral, De Ruyter, blockaded the Swedish ports in November, 1659, thus compelling Sweden to sue for peace. The other powers were glad enough to stop, for they all feared Sweden. Perhaps it was not entirely due to the sagac-

ity of the Great Elector that his country emerged from this dangerous war in a strengthened position; but it certainly is remarkable that before he had built up an army which could meet the Poles or the Swedes on even terms, and before he had constructed a fleet of any consequence, he had defeated both Poland and Sweden.

The Treaty of Oliva ended a long period of intermittent warfare around the Baltic Sea. It marked the end of Danish hegemony; the first failure of Sweden to make the Baltic a Swedish lake; and the supremacy of Brandenburg in northern Europe. With peace fully restored, the Great Elector could now enter upon a greater task, the improvement in government, in agriculture, in commerce, and in industry. He had already suppressed the diet of Brandenburg, and reduced the functions of the diet of Cleves to a minimum. It now became his aim to dispose of the diet in East Prussia. Before the year 1657 the nobles and burghers in this diet had proved rather stubborn, because the duke was simply a vassal of the Polish king. After the treaty of 1657, however, they realized that Frederick William would exert greater pressure on them. For several years they resisted his authority; they even tried to impose a constitution on him, but the duplicity and unscrupulous measures of the despotic duke finally crushed them, and after the year 1672 he was sole master in East Prussia.

The Great Elector further centralized his government by making a beginning of administrative uniformity for his widely separated dominions. He deprived the nobility of political influence, amalgamated the local armies into one national army, merged the three administrative units into one, and reserved for himself the appointment of the most important officials. He took a great interest in agriculture and industry, and had a canal constructed connecting the Elbe with the Oder, which proved a great commercial advantage to Berlin; and before the end of his reign the population of the city had grown from 8,000 to 20,000. Swamps were drained, roads repaired, and

foreign artisans encouraged to settle in Brandenburg. Twenty thousands Huguenots were attracted to Brandenburg by the promise of free transportation, exemption from taxes for ten years, and subsidies for their churches. The Great Elector even attempted to found a silk industry, but the climate was too severe for the mulberry trees.

Like King Henry IV of France and Sully, the Great Elector found it advantageous to supervise his finances carefully, and to indulge as little as was strictly necessary in active warfare. His policy of peaceful reconstruction was rudely interrupted, however, when Louis XIV declared war on Holland, and invaded that country with a huge army, being assisted by both the Bishop of Münster and the Archbishop of Cologne (1672). Frederick William not only remembered how Holland had saved for him Cleves and its dependencies, and how Dutch sea power had helped to end the Thirty Years' War in his favor, and how it had rescued him in 1659 from a Swedish invasion, but also he was related by marriage to the House of Orange and depended on the Dutch in his commercial affairs. Hence he was one of the first to aid the Dutch when their hour of danger came. Although the great Turenne defeated him, and the Swedes attacked him, he was able in 1675 to win the decisive battle of Fehrbellin, the first in a long series of victories by Prussia.

In 1679 Sweden and Brandenburg signed a treaty in which the Swedes ceded to the Great Elector a small strip of land along the Oder river; and for eighteen years hostilities ceased on the shores of the Baltic. During that period the Great Elector and his son Frederick III (1688–1713) quietly increased the size of their army and materially improved the economic resources of their dominions. When at the end of a most successful career Frederick William, the Great Elector, paused to reflect on his singular successes, he may have concluded that one of his wisest ventures was his marriage with Louise Henrietta, the daughter of Frederick Henry. The latter, al-

NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
DENMARK
SWEDEN
Copenhagen
BORNHOLM
SCHLESWIG
HOLSTEIN
Lübeck
Hamburg
Bremen
MECKLENBURG
RUGEN
Kolberg
EASTERN POMERANIA
WEST PRUSSIA
Danzig
Memel
Tilsit
EAST PRUSSIA
Königsberg
Pillau
Thorn
Vistula
Posen
Warta
POLAND
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Potsdam
Frankfort
Oder
Stettin
Kottbus
Magdeburg
Halle
Elbe
Dresden
SAXONY
Prague
UPPER SILESIA
Breslau
Territory of the Hohenzollerns in 1603
Acquisitions in 1614
" " 1618
" " 1648
" 1648 to 1772
UNITED PROVINCES
EAST FRIESLAND
MINDEN
Minden
Osnabrück
RAVENSBERG
CLEVES
GUELDERS (1715-1801)
Rhine
Weser
Ems
THE GROWTH OF BRANDENBURG-PRUSSIA
1415 TO 1772
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO N Y

0
10
20
30
40
60
50
40
NORWAY
DENMARK
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Gulf of Bothnia
L. Onega
L. Ladoga
G. of Finland
Bergen
Christiania
Stockholm
ESTHONIA
LIVONIA
RUSSIA
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
Visby
Riga
Copenhagen
COURLAND
Memel
(Sw. 1629-35)
Duna
SCHLESWIG
HOLSTEIN
POMERANIA
(Sw. 1679-1720)
Pillau
LITHUANIA
Ceded by Poland
UNITED PROVINCES
Amsterdam
MECKLENBURG
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Danzig
Vistula
Warsaw
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Cologne
SAXONY
Dresden
Prague
SILESIA
Oder
POLAND
Lemberg
GALICIA
UKRAINE
Dniester
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Danube
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
JEDISTAN
Vienna
SWISS CONFEDERATION
Geneva
Milan
REP. OF VENICE
Mantua
HUNGARY
BESSARABIA
Odessa
PIEDMONT
Venice
Belgrade
WALLACHIA
BOSNIA
Danube
BLACK SEA
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
BULGARIA
Varna
CORSICA
Rome
MONTE NEGRO
Sofia
Constantinople
RUMELIA
Naples
Salonica
SARDINIA
ALBANIA
EMPIRE
Palermo
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
SICILY
Smyrna
Athens
GREECE
RHODES
CRETE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CENTRAL EUROPE
IN 1665
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400
Austrian Dominions
Dominions of the Hohenzollerns
Spanish Dominions
Swedish Dominions
Church Lands
Boundary of the Empire
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO. N.Y.

though comparatively little is known of him, did more for the rise of Prussia than appears upon the surface of commonplace history. He surpassed William of Orange as a statesman and military commander, and ruled the Dutch Republic from 1625 till 1647, when Dutch fleets and Dutch armies were nowhere equalled; when Dutch industry and commerce were the envy of all Europe; when Dutch agriculture was the model for English, French, and German farmers. The Great Elector could never have secured Cleves and its dependencies, nor Eastern Pomerania; he could never have raised his state without that strong but almost invisible hand of Dutch sea power, so seldom mentioned in Prussian history, and yet so indispensable. When the Great Elector passed away in the year 1688, he had completed a task which prepared the way for Frederick the Great.

Prussia and Austria

Frederick III, although he was vain and extravagant, continued his father's work. Whereas the Great Elector had made Brandenburg-Prussia the equal of several kingdoms, his son acquired the title of king. In the year 1700, when Emperor Leopold I was seeking allies for Austria in the impending War of the Spanish Succession, he promised to make the margrave of Brandenburg a king on condition that the latter render military assistance. In the previous war (1689–1697) Frederick III had faithfully aided the Emperor, but had received no reward. In 1700, however, he decided to ask for terms in advance, and, although the thought of a new kingdom was extremely repugnant to Leopold I, the latter needed help at any price and granted the coveted title. Since Prussia lay outside the Holy Roman Empire, it was thought advisable for the sake of appearances to take the title from Prussia rather than from Brandenburg; and because Frederick III merely held a part of Prussia, the rest being a province of Poland, he

was at first called King in Prussia; later the title became King of Prussia. At the treaty of Utrecht in 1713 the new title was recognized by the other European monarchs, and Frederick, who had now become King Frederick I instead of Margrave Frederick III, was also to receive that portion of Gelderland which had not been incorporated into the Dutch Republic but had remained a Spanish possession. But before the peace was signed he died.

In 1713 King Frederick I was succeeded by King Frederick William I, who must be carefully distinguished from Frederick William, the Great Elector, although he greatly resembled his grandfather. He was constantly bent on improving agriculture, commerce, and industries. He increased the army from 38,000 to 80,000 men; and reformed the method of appointments by insisting on merit instead of financial qualification of the various candidates. He made his army the most efficient military machine of his time, partly as a result of the strict discipline he introduced. In the government he continued the process of centralization begun by the Great Elector. His celebrated "general directory," a group of officials personally dependent on the king and in the closest contact with him, supervised the major operations of the administrative machinery. The Prussian government under King William I became a model "bureaucracy," a government of royal officials controlling affairs for a king who claimed to be independent of the people. This form of government proved so effective in Prussia that many of its features remained intact till 1918.

While the Great Elector had attracted many thousands of Huguenot artisans and a large number of Dutch farmers, his grandson recolonized East Prussia by inviting the persecuted Protestants living in the Archbishopric of Salzburg to settle on the extensive plain north of Poland (1732). Most of them accepted the invitation, and their settlement in East Prussia was a great success. The king further ameliorated economic conditions by reducing the expenditure of the government.

His household and his court became so simple that many of his contemporaries ridiculed him for it. There was but one form of extravagance he allowed himself and that was the organization of the famous Potsdam Grenadiers, which consisted of soldiers who were all over six feet in height; they had been assembled from many parts of Europe and some of them had been secured at a high price. The army was the king's great hobby. But it was an expensive hobby, for out of a total revenue of seven million dollars he expended five millions on the army.

In spite of his large and efficient army, King Frederick William I played an unimportant part in international affairs. This happened largely because no great opportunities presented themselves for him to intervene in a great struggle between neighboring powers. As a matter of fact, his reign fell exactly between the two great wars fought in Europe during the first half of the eighteenth century. He ascended the throne just as the Treaty of Utrecht was being signed, which marked the end of the War of the Spanish Succession; and his death occurred in the very year 1740 when the War of the Austrian Succession broke out.

Charles VI, in order to prevent the dismemberment of the remaining Habsburg dominions, had promulgated the "Pragmatic Sanction," stating that these dominions were inseparable, and could, contrary to previous custom, be transmitted to a female heir. By granting liberal concessions to the local governments of his various possessions, such as Bohemia, Hungary, the Austrian Netherlands, Milan, Naples, and Sicily, he persuaded them to acknowledge the Pragmatic Sanction. Then he strove to secure the approval of foreign powers, and here his diplomacy was also successful. Prussia, France, Great Britain, Holland, Russia, Poland, Spain, Sardinia, as well as the electors of the Holy Roman Empire, solemnly swore to observe the Pragmatic Sanction, and to recognize his daughter, Maria Theresa, as his legitimate successor.

The aged Emperor had reason to feel alarmed about the future of his house. Not only were his dominions widely scattered and highly decentralized; not only were they exposed to the attacks of various great powers, but the inhabitants belonged to many different races and cherished different political ideals. In the Netherlands lived Flemings and Walloons; in Bohemia, Germans and Slavs; in Hungary, the Magyars or Hungarians; in Milan and the Two Sicilies, Italians; while Austria was German. Ever since the abdication of Charles V in 1556, the power of the Habsburg house had been waning, and, at the termination of the Thirty Years' War, the Empire had become little more than a group of virtually independent states, making war and peace without the consent of the Emperor himself. Charles VI possessed but a small army, and that was poorly disciplined; his treasury was empty, and his government far from efficient. Would it not have been better, asked Frederick the Great, if he had left a powerful army and ample revenues rather than a collection of documents recognizing the Pragmatic Sanction? Were they not mere "scraps of paper"?

Frederick the Great

When Frederick William I saw his reign drawing to a close, he entertained frequent misgivings regarding the character of his son, Frederick. There was indeed a striking contrast between the two men. The father was coarse, uncouth, parsimonious, and cautious. Never having appreciated the fine arts and the value of higher education, he cut off the pension granted to the great Leibnitz, who was one of the most celebrated philosophers and mathematicians of the eighteenth century; he neglected the Royal Library of Prussia; disparaged college professors; and showed no taste for good literature. The son, on the other hand, was a talented musician and was fond of refined society; he devoured French literature, ad-

mired Voltaire and the great scientists, indulged in much frivolous gaiety, and spent a good deal of money on fine clothes. The king vainly attempted to make the gifted, artistic son conform to the coarse simplicity which he so greatly approved in himself. The natural result was that Frederick became estranged from his father, and tried to escape from Brandenburg. When he was caught and brought back to his tyrannical father, the latter made him go through a severe course of military and civil training, which at the time was exceedingly distasteful to the young artist, but which no doubt provided him with a store of knowledge highly essential to him later.

On his accession to the throne, Frederick II found himself the heir to a fairly compact state, a magnificent army, and a well-filled treasury. How different was his lot from that of Maria Theresa! While he could depend on the assistance of France, Spain, Bavaria, Saxony, and Sardinia, his opponent was supported only by Great Britain and Holland; and the latter country had by this time so greatly declined that it was now little more than the satellite of the English government. Even Great Britain itself was not a very useful ally for a country defending itself against the troops of Frederick the Great in the interior of the Continent. Moreover, the English assisted Maria Theresa not so much for altruistic reasons as for the opportunity of weakening France and Spain.

In 1740, even without a declaration of war, Frederick occupied the greater part of Silesia. This territory had long been a dependency of Bohemia, but unlike the latter country, where the Czechs predominated, its population was largely German. Throughout the length of the country stretched the fertile valley of the Oder, and the number of inhabitants nearly equalled that of the whole kingdom of Prussia. If Frederick could annex this rich district, his dominions would become more thoroughly German, and, furthermore, Austria would lose much influence in Germany and also a base of operations against Prussia. What cared he that his father had promised to observe the

Pragmatic Sanction? Had not the Great Elector broken his promises time and again? Frederick coveted Silesia, and, reviving an obsolete claim to the wealthy district, he formed an alliance with France and Bavaria to dismember the Habsburg realm. Within a few weeks he took possession of Breslau and the greater part of Silesia. Three wars between Austria and Prussia followed, which partly coincided with the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), but which in the history of Germany are usually termed the three Silesian Wars (1740–1742, 1744–1745, and 1756–1763). In all of these wars the Austrians were defeated, and Prussia secured possession of the whole of Silesia.

While Frederick marched his army into Silesia, ready to attack the Austrians from the east, the French and Bavarians prepared to invade Austria from the west. Maria Theresa fled to Hungary and appealed to her subjects to protect her. She did not exhort them in vain. Several armies, made up of Austrian, Hungarian, and Bohemian forces, were drilled in preparation for the battle with the national enemies.

Great Britain, as was said, participated in the War of the Austrian Succession because of its policy to weaken France. The French had long been trying to annex the southern Netherlands, which since 1713 belonged to Austria. The king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover,[1] naturally sought to protect Hanover against Prussian invaders. Holland merely aided Great Britain because of an alliance signed in 1674, and because it was largely dependent on British protection. Spain sided with France because its Bourbon king was a relative of Louis XV, and because the Spanish were anxious to recover the possessions they had lost by the treaty of Utrecht (1713).

Although six countries were allied against Maria Theresa, the war which ensued was not nearly so disastrous for her as might have been expected. Sardinia, fearing the recurrence of Spanish hegemony in Italy, deserted its allies and actually

[1] Hanover had become an electorate in 1708.

EUROPE
IN 1740
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300
Dominions of the House of Bourbon
Austrian Dominions
Brandenburg-Prussia
Church Lands
Boundary of the Empire
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES
SCOTLAND
Bergen
Stavanger
NORTH SEA
Edinburgh
Belfast
IRELAND
Dublin
York
WALES
ENGLAND
Amsterdam
UNITED PROVINCES
The Hague
Antwerp
London
Plymouth
Portsmouth
AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
English Channel
Poulogne
CHANNEL IS.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Rouen
Brest
Paris
Metz
Orleans
Muhlhausen
Nantes
FRANCE
Bordeaux
Lyons
SAVOY
Toulouse
Oporto
CATALONIA
Marseilles
Barcelona
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Madrid
Lisbon
Valencia
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA (Br. 1713)
Pt. Mahon
Guadalquivir
Seville
Cartagena
Cadiz
Tangier
GIBRALTAR (Br. 1713)
Algiers
MEDITER
50
40
20
10
0

20
30
40
50
10
St. Petersburg
FINLAND
ESTHONIA
Stockholm
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
RUSSIA
Riga
COURLAND
Dvina
Niemen
Copenhagen
Konigsberg
Danzig
PRUSSIA
Vistula
Warsaw
POLAND
Dniepr
Breslau
SILESIA
SAXONY
Cracow
Lemberg
GALICIA
Dniester
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
MOLDAVIA
JEDISTAN
CRIMEA
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
Danube
Buda Pest
KINGDOM OF
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
Munich
SYRIA
Belgrade
WALLACHIA
Danube
BLACK
SEA
Venice
BOSNIA
BULGARIA
PAPAL
DALMATIA
ADRIATIC SEA
Adrianople
Constantinople
MONTENEGRO
REP. OF RAGUSA
OTTOMAN
EMPIRE
Rome
Benevento
ALBANIA
AEGEAN SEA
Smyrna
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
(Austria 1714)
(Spain 1735)
IONIAN IS.
(Venice)
MOREA
(Venice 1699)
(Turkey 1718)
Palermo
SICILY
CRETE
MALTA
(To Knights of St. John)
SEA
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO. N.Y.

joined the other side. Saxony, being more exposed to Prussian than Austrian invasion, was easily bribed by Austria to stop fighting. Holland had lost most of its military and naval power; and also, most of that vitality and ambition which in the seventeenth century had made its power felt in many distant regions. The Dutch were now content to restrict their operations to the Austrian Netherlands. Maria Theresa herself proved a very energetic and highly respected ruler. Her armies successfully withstood the onslaught of Bavarian and French forces, and soon carried the struggle into Bavaria, which was occupied by the Austrians at the very moment that the elector of Bavaria, a member of the Wittelsbach family, was being crowned Emperor,—the only ruler in modern times who defeated a Habsburg candidate in the election for emperor, and who even then retained the title for only three years (1742–1745), being succeeded by Francis I, the husband of Maria Theresa (1745–1765).

Against the troops of Frederick II, however, the Austrians could make little progress. Three times the Austrian empress hastily concluded a truce with the Prussian king and finally, in 1745, Frederick was induced to desert his allies by the complete surrender of Silesia. In the meantime the French forces were unsuccessful in Italy, and, although they occupied the larger part of the Austrian Netherlands and even invaded the Dutch Republic, France gained no territory when in 1748 peace was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, or Aachen. All conquests were restored, except Silesia. Francis I was recognized by the Powers as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. It was felt by all the combatants that peace was merely an interlude in the great struggle between Great Britain and France for naval and colonial supremacy, and between Prussia and Austria for the possession of Silesia.

No country seemed so desirous of renewed hostilities as Austria. Maria Theresa had learned many lessons during the war. She realized why Prussia was so powerful and her own

scattered dominions so weak. Prussia, with only a million and a quarter inhabitants, had acquired an army of 80,000 highly efficient soldiers; it had developed a fine system of elementary schools, thanks to the efforts of Frederick William I; its government was the best organized in northern Europe. Why could not Austria, she reasoned, do better than Prussia? Her dominions certainly were more thickly populated, and far more wealthy than those of her rival. Hence she assiduously launched a program of preparedness. Her armies were reorganized, education advanced, industries expanded, the government centralized, revenues increased, the religious situation improved and charitable institutions reformed.

Maria Theresa was astute enough to appreciate the value of diplomacy. The two essential requisites of preparedness, resources and a large, well trained army, might prove unavailing if they were not complemented by a powerful coalition. As early as the year 1754 the empress resolutely determined to isolate Prussia by securing as her allies not only Saxony and Russia, but France! To win France to her side was a task which required more than ordinary diplomacy, for, ever since the time of Charles V and Francis I of France, the Bourbon kings had been the enemies of the Habsburgs. In all the recent wars French kings had fought against the Habsburg emperors. Could she then reverse a situation which had prevailed for more than two centuries?

It has often been asserted that her task was accomplished by Count Kaunitz, who is said to have been the greatest diplomat of his time. Kaunitz was employed by Maria Theresa to win over the French court. He first tried to seek the favor of Louis XV (1715–1774), the French king, by promising him the extension of French frontiers beyond the Rhine at the expense of Prussia. When the king refused to consent, Kaunitz negotiated with Madame de Pompadour, the king's mistress, who had been offended by the cynical Frederick the Great. She yielded to his entreaties, and France became the ally of Austria.

It must not be imagined, however, that everything depended on the caprice of Madame de Pompadour. The "Diplomatic Revolution" of 1755 was the result of far more important causes than the diplomacy of Kaunitz and the influence of one of the mistresses of Louis XV. The "Diplomatic Revolution" was not simply the reversal of the relations between Bourbon king and Habsburg emperor. Frederick the Great and British diplomats played an exceedingly important rôle in this revolution, and the chief factor in the whole development is not the relation between France and Austria, but that between France and Great Britain.

If in the days of Richelieu or of Louis XIV an Austrian diplomat had presented himself at the French court with the overtures which Kaunitz offered, the French would not even have listened to him. But in the year 1755 the situation had become very different. Whereas in the middle of the seventeenth century the chief enemy of France was the Habsburg house, a century later Great Britain was her deadliest enemy. As early as the year 1754 hostilities between French and British subjects had broken out in North America. Since the year 1674, when England had made an alliance with Holland which was in effect for nearly a hundred years, the English and the French had been traditional enemies. It was far more natural for France and Austria to reverse their relations than for France and Great Britain. Not even a dozen diplomats like Kaunitz and a dozen mistresses like Madame de Pompadour could have altered that situation.

Another important link in the chain of events was the electorate of Hanover, the possession of King George II of Great Britain, who, like his predecessor George I, felt more at home in Hanover than in England. It was one of the chief concerns of George II to keep Hanover intact, and he knew that no state could protect Hanover for him as could Prussia. It is altogether wrong to assume that the bone of contention between Great Britain and France, and between France and Austria,

was the possession of the Austrian, or southern Netherlands. For once that district seemed of little importance. Maria Theresa was primarily interested in the recovery of Silesia; Frederick the Great's chief concern was to retain it; the British king cared mostly about Hanover; the French were not agreed on any policy. In 1755 the Prussian king veered over to the side of Great Britain. He bitterly complained that the French, who were seeking an alliance with him, "wanted to pile upon their allies the whole burden of the war and to keep their own hands free." Russia was making overtures to England. Could Prussia, with a population of barely four millions, afford to enter a war against Great Britain, Russia, and Austria, if it were supported only by the tricky French? No, he would rather ally himself with England, and he would protect Hanover for George II, who rightly reasoned that the French could easily occupy Hanover, no matter how strong was the British fleet. In 1756, Frederick II signed the Convention of Westminster. When the news reached Paris, the French were still undecided.

In France a contest was being waged between the Marine Department and the French Army. The former desired to make the impending war with Great Britain exclusively a naval conflict, but the Army was so influential at the Court that it had its way. Frederick the Great, who had insisted on the neutralization of Hanover, was informed by the French government that his terms could not be accepted, wherefore he made an alliance with Great Britain, which left France no alternative but an alliance with Austria. Saxony and Sweden were easily persuaded to join, while Elizabeth, Tsarina of Russia, who hated Frederick II because of his flippant verses, also supported Austria. In the same year that Frederick allied with England, the war broke out.

The Seven Years' War (1756–1763) plainly revealed the great issues at stake in Europe, America, and India. There is no need of repeating here the story of events beyond the seas. On the Continent the Prussian king became the one outstanding

hero, and it was now that he won his title of "the Great." He had carefully studied the campaigns of Turenne and Marlborough, and had visited the battlefield of Lützen, where in 1632 the Swedes under Gustavus Adolphus had won a signal victory. Most of the Germans sympathized with him, even though he occupied Saxony before war had been declared. He became to the Germans what Napoleon later meant to the French. After entering Bohemia, he was compelled to retreat to Prussia, where from all directions Swedes, Russians, Austrians, and French closed in upon him. Knowing full well the advantages derived from speed, he rushed westward to meet the French, who were decisively beaten at Rossbach (1757); then he sped into Silesia and defeated the Austrians at Leuthen (1757).

The first period of the war closed with Frederick in possession of Saxony and Silesia, and with the Russians, Swedes, Austrians in retreat. In 1758 the situation was little changed, except that the Prussians now had to remain on the defensive. In the following year Frederick was unable to defend all of his provinces, for his army had been greatly reduced in size and his own kingdom lacked the resources and man power possessed by such countries as Russia and France. Great Britain faithfully sent subsidies, however, and Hanover was successfully defended by the duke of Brunswick. If the Russians and Austrians had coöperated more effectively in 1759, they could easily have captured the whole of the Prussian army. As it was, they inflicted serious defeats on Frederick's forces; the Russians occupied East Prussia, invaded Brandenburg, and finally took Berlin (1759).

Frederick the Great was undoubtedly saved by the death of the Tsarina Elizabeth in 1762, and the reversal of her policy by her successor, Peter III, who greatly admired the Prussian king. Needless to add, however, Frederick had been encouraged to persevere by the successes of his British allies in America and India. But the terrible five years from 1758 till 1763 wrought

such a change in him that his vitality was largely broken, and his gay spirits gone. Fortunately for him, the French and Austrians by 1763 were utterly exhausted, and when the Treaty of Hubertusburg was signed, he retained Silesia, and his country was recognized as a first-rate power. England, France, and Spain [1] signed the Treaty of Paris, as was mentioned in the preceding chapter. Great Britain had become the first naval and colonial power in the world.

Not content with the annexation of Silesia, Frederick made an alliance with Catherine II of Russia, which in 1772 resulted in the first partition of Poland. Prussia annexed West Prussia with the exception of Danzig and Thorn, and at last the dream of the Great Elector had been materialized; Brandenburg had become united with all the territory along the Baltic east of the Oder to the Niemen river, so that East Prussia and Brandenburg, together with West Prussia formed one geographical and political unit. Frederick William I in 1720 had purchased the larger part of West Pomerania from Sweden, while Frederick II himself in 1744 had acquired East Friesland. Although the process of expansion was by no means complete when Frederick the Great ended his reign in 1786, nevertheless, he, even more than the Great Elector, had made valuable contributions. Had he reigned but twenty years longer, however, he would have seen the heart of Prussia overrun by French soldiers, and apparently all his work gone for naught. But again, had he lived still another ten years, he would have been happy to witness the resurrecting of the Prussian kingdom in the form of a much stronger nation than he had left it at the end of his reign. No, his work had not been in vain, for a larger and far wealthier nation than he could have foreseen grew up on the ruins of the dominions trampled underfoot by Napoleon.

Frederick the Great was much more than a mere soldier. His military prowess was largely the result of an accident, namely the training imposed upon him by his father. In his

[1] Spain had entered the war in 1762.

youth he had eagerly devoured the writings of the great French philosophers and in later life he continued to study Voltaire and Rousseau and Montesquieu. He made Maupertuis the president of the Royal Academy, corresponded with Voltaire, and for several years enjoyed the presence of the latter in his palace, Sans Souci, at Potsdam. He gave Voltaire a liberal pension for training him in French composition. He fostered the development of secondary and higher education, and continued his father's policy of compulsory elementary education. He was the most eminent representative of that curious group of eighteenth century statesmen, named "Enlightened Despots."

After the termination of the Seven Years' War, the king of Prussia faced the same sort of problem which had confronted the Great Elector, although on a lesser scale. One ninth of his subjects had perished during the war. Berlin had been raided three times; the fields of Silesia were devastated, many towns and villages lay in ruin. In East Prussia conditions were even worse. The treasury was empty, taxes could not be collected, misery reigned in the plains of Brandenburg, where in the early part of his reign prosperity had brought happiness for all. Like the Great Elector, the king encouraged the immigration of farmers and artisans, supervised the construction of roads, and the draining of marshes. Fifteen thousand square miles of land, an area greater than that of Holland, whose population almost equalled that of Prussia, were reclaimed during his reign. He prohibited the export of Silesian wool to Austria and the importation of Swedish iron and Austrian steel, since Silesia in his opinion possessed enough iron ore for the whole of his kingdom. He resembled Colbert in encouraging the growth of manufactures, and in issuing regulations regarding trade and industry.

At the end of his reign, Frederick II had doubled the size of his army, increasing it to 160,000, had seen his population grow from 2,200,000 to 4,000,000, his treasury filled, his reve-

nues showing an annual surplus, his people flourishing, the schools well attended, cruel tortures abolished, religious toleration spreading, and immigrants pouring in from all directions. Frederick greatly improved the judicial system of his government by reducing the number of superfluous courts and of the judges, and by expediting the trials. In the machinery of the administration he made few improvements, however, and he repudiated the ideas of his contemporaries concerning the sovereignty of the people. He distrusted the common people. He opposed democracy, but admitted that he was "the first servant of the state." What sort of a servant he was may be gathered from his despotic actions. His duty was to serve the interests of his people, but only through the plans which he himself had formulated. He was an "enlightened" despot, because he took the welfare of his subjects to heart. He was a despot, because his will was law. But he served his people well. Not until the end of the World War in 1918 did the German people seriously question the policies of the Prussian rulers, for they had introduced and maintained a level of prosperity and popular education unsurpassed in Europe.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Brandenburg, East Prussia, The Great Elector

J. A. R. Marriott and C. G. Robertson, *The Evolution of Prussia*, chapters I, II.

E. F. Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, vol. II, chapter I.

H. Tuttle, *History of Prussia to the Accession of Frederick the Great.*

H. O. Wakeman, *The Ascendancy of France*, chapter VIII.

D. Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, chapter XI.

Prussia and Austria

D. Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, chapter VI.

S. Whitman, *Austria.*

S. Whitman, *The Realm of the Habsburgs.*

W. Coxe, *House of Austria,* vol. III. Although rather old, it is still useful.

J. F. Bright, *Maria Theresa.*

C. T. Atkinson, *A History of Germany,* 1715–1815, chapters V, VI.

FREDERICK THE GREAT

C. T. Atkinson, *A History of Germany,* 1715–1815, chapter VII–XIV, This excellent account throws valuable light on the Diplomatic Revolution of 1755, as well as on a number of other important historical problems.

W. F. Reddaway, *Frederick the Great and the Rise of Prussia.* Popular, but accurate.

T. Carlyle, *Frederick the Great.* More valuable as a piece of literature than as a source of information.

F. W. Longman, *Frederick the Great and the Seven Years' War.*

G. M. Priest, *Germany since 1740,* chapters I–III.

B. E. Schmitt, *England and Germany,* chapter I.

D. J. Hill, *History of Diplomacy in the International Development of Europe,* vol. III, chapters VI–VIII.

A. W. Ward, *Great Britain and Hanover, Some Aspects of their Personal Union.*

H. Temperley, *Frederick the Great and Kaiser Joseph.* Has a useful introductory chapter on eighteenth century diplomacy.

CHAPTER IX

RUSSIA, SWEDEN, AND POLAND

One of the most interesting developments in modern European history is the growth of the little state of Muscovy in central Russia into a huge empire occupying one half of the European and Asiatic continents, a country twice as large as the United States, with a population of more than a hundred and fifty million souls. The rise of Russia to the rank of a great power seems a subject all the more fascinating today because of the Russian Revolution, which began in 1905 and is still in the process of development. When one considers how insignificant was the rôle played by Russia in seventeenth century politics, one certainly must pause to speculate on what may some day happen in that vast plain stretching from the Baltic Sea across the whole length of Siberia to the Pacific Ocean. Here is a country with immense resources, which have scarcely been touched; a nation undergoing a most remarkable experiment in social reconstruction; a state which may one day surpass our own in economic and political power. Perhaps it will be possible to learn something from the history of this country in the eighteenth century, and a knowledge of Russian institutions may throw light on problems which have mystified millions of educated Americans.

Simultaneously with the rise of Russia occurred the decline of Sweden and the partitions of Poland, while south of Russia another power was feeling the force of disintegration. This power was the Ottoman Empire, which had struck much terror into the hearts of occidental peoples at the time of Charles V, and had continued to defy the nations of western Europe dur-

ing the seventeenth century, but experienced a terrible exhaustion during the following century. The amazing career of Charles XII of Sweden, the "madman of the North"; the peculiar character of Polish institutions in the eighteenth century; the dismemberment of Poland; and the careers of two strange characters, Peter the Great and Catherine the Great of Russia, also form subjects which may fascinate even a casual reader.

Peter the Great

In an earlier chapter it was noted that in the year 1613, following a period of disorder known as the "Troublous Times," Michael Romanov was chosen Tsar of the Russians. He fortified several places of strategic value, restored order, recovered Novgorod from Sweden, and protected his subjects against invasion. His son secured from Poland the cities of Kiev and Smolensk, besides eastern Ukraine, pushing the western frontier of Russia back to the Dnieper river. But neither father nor son is known to have done many noteworthy things for Russia. It remained for the grandson of Michael Romanov to accomplish outstanding results and to win the title of "the Great."

This ruler was Peter, who for several years ruled with his older brother as tsars of Russia until by 1696 the latter had died without leaving heirs, whereupon Peter became the sole Tsar of the Russians. He had been born in 1672 and seemed stupid as a boy, but later displayed a remarkably alert and inquisitive intellect. He took great pleasure in leading bands of other youths in riotous pranks, and in 1690 he became intimately acquainted with a Swiss adventurer, who was a disreputable drinker but aroused his interest in western civilization.

Peter had always been fond of making boats and various toys, and when his Swiss friend suggested that he build a ship, he

eagerly siezed upon the idea, and launched one on the White Sea. Some day, he reasoned, he would have a real fleet. To his disappointment the waters of the arctic gulf were frozen over during nine months of the year, so he turned to the Black Sea. Here he encountered Turks, hostile Cossacks, and Tartars. But with the aid of Austrian and Prussian engineers he constructed a fleet, and now his desire became to defeat the Turks and seize Azov, which he accomplished in 1696. However, he quickly perceived that, in order to defeat the Turks more decisively, he would need the support of the western powers.

In 1697 a group of fifty young men of the best families in the capital left Moscow for Holland, Venice, and England, in order to learn the arts and sciences of western Europe, and especially ship-building and military engineering. At the same time a grand embassy was sent to solicit the western powers for aid against the Turks. Although the Russian diplomats completely failed to enlist the support of the Powers against the Turks, since western Europe expected the outbreak of a great war, the young men from Moscow, among whom was the tsar himself, learned a great deal on their trip. Peter was specially pleased with his visit in Holland, where as an unknown Russian sailor he tried to hide his identity, and so learn the secrets of Dutch ship-building, while he also studied engraving and anatomy. In England he familiarized himself with shipping and industry, and in Prussia he acquired much information about the training of troops. Everywhere he came to the painful realization that the foreigners were greatly superior to his own countrymen, wherefore he decided to have the latter adopt the customs of their western neighbors.

Peter's trip was shortened by a rebellion of his body-guard, the *Streltsi,* who were dissatisfied with the tsar's preliminary reforms, for these meant more work and a certain amount of training. They were such an indolent and incapable group of men, however, that in one hour they were defeated by the regents, who kept them in prison till Peter's return. As soon

as the tsar arrived in Moscow, he caused the rebellious soldiers to be executed, on which occasion he himself displayed great physical strength and dexterity in slicing off heads with his own arm. Altogether several thousand men were hanged, beheaded, exiled, and tortured on the wheel. Their death was a warning to others who might plan to oppose the coming reforms.

One of these contemplated reforms was the change in dress and social customs. Peter the Great insisted that the long, flowing beards and the oriental garments of his countrymen were an emblem of intellectual stagnation, wherefore he at once gave orders to have the beards shaved off and the long robes shortened. He introduced the use of tobacco, compelled the women to leave their separate apartments and mingle freely with the opposite sex. Although his innovations were not fit for immediate application, since his subjects could not adapt themselves for a decade or two to the sudden transformation in dress and manners, the tsar did finally succeed in carrying out some of his plans for social reform.

Far more notable, however, was the reorganization of the army and the construction of a modern navy. The size of the army was increased to two hundred thousand men; it was trained and commanded largely by Prussian officers. At the end of the reign, the fleet had grown to forty warships and eight hundred lighter vessels. The old guard was abolished, and a great police force organized. Like the Great Elector of Prussia, the Russian ruler made attempts to centralize the government, but in remodeling the administration he followed the Swedish pattern more than the Prussian. He appointed a group of nine men to take the place of the former Duma, an assembly of nobles which for many generations had acted as a kind of legislative body. The new senate also exercised the power of a supreme court, made appointments in the civil service, and also supervised the army and the finances. Various departments of the central government were carefully differentiated and placed in charge of trusted officials. Local self-government prac-

tically disappeared in Russia, and all the provinces were united into eight large units, called governments, each of which was ruled by a governor and an advisory council. The larger cities, including Moscow, received a small measure of local government, but aside from that concession by the central government, the tsar and his chief officials, like the council of Louis XIV, firmly maintained the principles of absolutism.

In order to enhance still further the prestige of the central government, the tsar proceeded to subordinate the church to the state. The clergy probably exercised a greater influence over the common people in Russia than in the countries of western Europe. Peter rightly reasoned that, if he could subject their power to his control, he would be an autocrat in every sense of the word. The head of the Greek, or Orthodox, Church in Russia, named the Patriarch of Moscow, was deprived of his power to control the church; and his functions were transferred to the Holy Synod, which consisted of a group of bishops presided over by a layman, whom the tsar appointed himself. This simple act had exceedingly important results. From now on the tsar of Russia could dictate to his clergy what they should preach and whom they should appoint to office. The army, the navy, the police system, the governors and the senate, and, finally, the church itself, had become the tools of absolutism. How firmly this form of government introduced by Peter the Great became established in Russia may be seen from the fact that not until the revolution of 1905 did the Russian people rise against autocracy.

Peter the Great also made great exertions to improve the economic situation in Russia. When he traveled through Prussia, Holland, England, and northern Italy in 1697, he induced several hundred skilled artisans to emigrate to Russia and teach his subjects the rudiments of western civilization, to create new industries, and to foster trade. He likewise encouraged young Russians of good families to go abroad and study the languages and sciences of western Europe. He him-

self had learned to speak Dutch and German. The new Russian industries were subsidized by the state; great iron mines were opened in the Ural Mountains; thousands of serfs were drawn from rural districts to work in the new industrial establishments, of which in the reign of Peter the Great more than two hundred were founded.

In order to give his people more direct communication with the occidental countries, the tsar decided to establish a new capital near the Baltic Sea, on the banks of the Neva River, which flows into the Gulf of Finland. The conquests of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden had closed the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea to the Russians. Poland and East Prussia blocked Russian advances toward the southern shores of this sea. In the south the Turks surrounded the Black Sea, while the Caspian Sea was of little value. Far to the east, beyond the vast plain of Siberia, lay the Pacific Ocean, but Peter's ambition was westward expansion. He constantly referred to the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea as the "windows" of Russia, for they would enable Russia in the future to get more closely in touch with western Europe, which, as he well knew, was the cradle of modern civilization. His first step, then, was the building of Saint Petersburg, which till after the World War remained the capital of Russia. Like Amsterdam, where thousands of houses rest on wooden poles driven into the mucky soil, the Russian capital was constructed upon swampy, soggy ground. It seemed a most unsuitable place for a great city, but the tsar, with unbending will, sent forth his order, and one of the most beautiful cities in Europe, peopled by thousands of prosperous citizens, quickly grew up on the banks of the Neva. In the course of time it surpassed in size and population such capitals as Rome, Madrid, Lisbon, Stockholm, Christiania, Brussels, and Amsterdam. Although its name is now Leningrad, and though it is no longer the capital of Russia, the city will long remain a testimony to the extraordinary vision and will-power of Peter the Great.

Sweden as a Great Power

It was not likely that a tsar possessing the great physical strength, the unflinching will, and the boundless ambition of Peter the Great would be content with the erection of a capital east of the Gulf of Finland. A mere glance at the map of Europe had repeatedly convinced him that Russia was bound to acquire the east coast of the Baltic Sea as far south as the Polish frontier. Sooner or later, he knew, his army would be needed in a contest with Sweden, which possessed large dominions across the Baltic, such as Finland, Carelia, Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia.

Sweden had had a most remarkable history. As late as the year 1523 it had seceded from the Danish kingdom, while in the reign of Gustavus Adolphus (1611–1632) it had for the first time risen to the rank of a great power. Early in the Middle Ages the Swedes had occupied Finland. Gustavus Adolphus had conquered the provinces south of Finland, although Livonia was not formally recognized by Poland as a Swedish province till 1660, while Esthonia had been occupied by the Swedes in 1561, and was formally annexed in 1617.

After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the country had been ably governed by the astute statesman Oxenstjerna, the regent of Christina, who was only four years old when her father died (1632). In 1634 he had prepared for his country what may be termed the first written constitution in modern times, since it preceded Cromwell's "Instrument of Government" by nineteen years. It stated that Lutheranism was the established form of religion in the kingdom; the king was to be assisted by a senate of twenty members selected by him from the nobility, while the five most important ministers in the realm, including the admiral and the chancellor, were members *ex officio*. The senate received power to exercise executive functions during the illness or minority of the king, and for half a century this

body, more than the monarch, largely controlled the foreign and domestic policies of the government.

The reign of Queen Christina (1632–1654) marked a peculiar epoch in the history of Sweden. It was the only reign in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by a monarch who was primarily interested in art and scholarship. She was herself a literary figure of considerable note and attracted to her court a great many men of culture who gladly endured the rigors of Stockholm's climate to be near the Minerva of the North. Even the learned Grotius left Holland, his native country, and France, his adopted country, in order to serve the celebrated patroness of learning and art. Unfortunately, however, the band of eminent scholars and artists who made her court the most learned in Europe, was dissolved when in 1654 she abdicated on account of her religion. She was succeeded by a king (Charles X), who had no taste for good literature. Like his two successors, he was a warrior by nature, and, like them, he contributed a large share to the decline of Sweden.

In 1660 Sweden had probably reached the height of its power. But in spite of its large area, exceeding by about ten thousand square miles the size of the present German Republic, its actual power was altogether out of proportion to its size. Its possessions across the Baltic Sea were rather a source of weakness than of strength. They were separated from the mother country by a wide body of water which in winter was frozen over; they were peopled by different races which had no great reason to love the Swedes; and they were exposed to attacks by Denmark, Brandenburg, Poland, and Austria. Even those who speak of Swedish sea power as being supreme in the Baltic during the seventeenth century, lose sight of the fact that only one year before the Peace of Oliva, the Dutch had dislodged the Swedes from Denmark, destroyed a large Swedish fleet, and blockaded the Swedish ports, thus compelling Sweden to make peace at the very time when her navy is supposed to have dominated the Baltic region (1660). The country was very thinly popu-

lated and lacking in resources which at that time could quickly be turned into gold. Its farmers were entirely unprepared to pay the taxes required for the maintenance of large armies and a great navy. Only during the Thirty Years' War, when Sweden was allied with France and Holland, and in the reign of Louis XIV, when French armies supported it in the Dutch War (1672–1678), it appeared imbued with real power. At the end of the seventeenth century, however, its decline became noticeable to all its neighbors.

Charles XI, who ruled from 1660 till 1697, was a very able monarch, and, if he had been followed by a cautious and far-sighted king, Sweden would have been spared much expenditure in human lives and money, and much humiliation. He reformed the government by depriving the nobles of the influence exerted through the senate, and restored to the crown the royal lands which had been divided among the nobles. Fully realizing the mismanagement of the war with Brandenburg and Holland (1672–1678), in which the Great Elector had seized the whole of Swedish Pomerania, and after which Sweden had regained this valuable district only because Holland had deserted its allies (Spain and Brandenburg), he devoted the rest of his reign to peaceful pursuits. During the eighteen years of peace which now ensued, he restored prosperity in his country, reformed his government still further, and proudly rejected the subsidies offered by Louis XIV.

Then followed the disastrous reign of Charles XII (1697–1718), which undid all the useful work of his predecessor, and led his country on a path of reckless adventures which so weakened it that Sweden never fully recovered until very recent times. Charles XII was only fifteen years of age when his father passed away. The time had arrived, thought the rulers of Denmark, Poland, and Russia, to dismember the Swedish empire. They forthwith formed an alliance; if the Great Elector had still been alive, he would no doubt have joined it too; in 1699 all the terms of future conquest and annexation had been

agreed upon, and the armies of three greedy powers were set in motion.

The defeat of Charles XII was far more difficult, however, than had been foreseen by the allies. Not unlike Charles X, who in 1658 had rushed to Denmark and seemed ready to crush Poland besides, so Charles XII also turned first to Denmark, whose king quickly made peace in 1700 by paying a heavy indemnity. From Denmark Charles crossed the Baltic to Esthonia, in order to meet the Russians; he defeated them in the battle of Narva, occupied Livonia and Lithuania, and carried the war into the very heart of Poland. He easily captured Warsaw and Cracow, and compelled the Polish diet to dethrone their king and crown another, chosen naturally by Charles XII himself (1704).

The results of his campaigns may seem amazing; only it should be borne in mind that Gustavus Adolphus and Charles X had performed similar feats. This time there was no Dutch fleet to stop the Swedes as had happened in 1658. Charles XII might have considered this fact, and possibly he might have become less vain. In that case he would have secured extremely favorable terms for Sweden. Peter the Great was ready to form an alliance with Charles against Poland, and merely asked a port on the Gulf of Finland. But Charles would listen to no such terms, marched south through the center of Russia, and in 1709 met the Russians at Poltava. Now the tide turned against him. His forces were practically annihilated; only a few soldiers accompanied him on his flight into the Ottoman Empire.

Charles XII remained among the Turks for five years, striving in vain to recover his fallen fortunes. Peter the Great, in order to placate the Turks, returned the city of Azov to them, whereupon they agreed to make peace. When at last the reckless king of Sweden realized the hopeless situation in which he found himself, he suddenly and mysteriously departed for the city of Stralsund on the Baltic, the only place in Germany

which his country still retained. War continued in this region. Denmark again joined Poland and Russia. Prussia finally turned against Charles, and even Great Britain and Hanover adopted a hostile attitude. And yet he would not yield. So he gained for himself the title of "Madman of the North," for madman he certainly was. In 1718, when attempting to invade Norway, he was killed, and now his country quickly terminated the costly war.

Treaties with Denmark, Hanover, Poland, and Prussia were signed at Stockholm (1719–1720). The Danes received Holstein; Hanover annexed the former archbishopric of Bremen, and Prussia the mouth of the Oder and the city of Stettin. The king of Poland who had been deposed by Charles XII was restored to the throne. In 1721 the Treaty of Nystad was signed with Russia, which secured Esthonia, Livonia, Ingria, Carelia, and a part of southern Finland. It was now that Peter the Great could open his "window to the west" and build St. Petersburg. Never again would Russia have to fear Sweden, and possibly the day might soon arrive when the latter country would also lose Finland!

Catherine the Great

The period between the death of Peter the Great in 1725 and the accession of Catherine II to the Russian throne in 1762 brought little change in the foreign and domestic policies of the government. The Tsarina Elizabeth, as was noted above, assisted Maria Theresa of Austria against Frederick the Great, because some of the verses written by the Prussian king had offended her. In 1762 Peter III made peace with Prussia, and, when a palace revolution in the same year resulted in his death, Catherine II took over the reins of government and inaugurated a policy of neutrality. It is possible that Catherine was responsible for the death of the tsar, who was her own husband, for she was one of the most unscrupulous, scheming, and im-

THE GROWTH OF
RUSSIA
TO 1795
Scale of Miles
0 200 400 600
ARCTIC OCEAN
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Gulf of Bothnia
White Sea
Archangel
Dwina
URAL MOUNTAINS
Ob
Gulf of Finland
St. Petersburg
Novgorod
Nizni Novgorod
Kazan
Moscow
Volga
Oka
Orenburg
Ural
BALTIC SEA
PRUSSIA
Warsaw
POLAND
Smolensk
Novgorod Siversk
Kiev
Dniester
Dnieper
Don
HUNGARY
Odessa
Danube
Astrakhan
Aral Sea
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
CAUCASUS
Derbend
Batum
Baku
(1723-82) MTS.
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Grand Duchy of Moscow in 1480
Territory acquired 1480-1505
" " 1505-1670
" " 1670-1725
" " 1725-1795
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moral women that ever sat upon a throne. Frederick the Great, in order to lessen the influence of Austria on the Russian court, had brought about the marriage of the Russian tsar with Catherine, who was a German. This was no doubt one of the reasons why Peter III, immediately after his accession to power, had reversed the relation between the Russian and Prussian courts, and why Catherine II did not support Maria Theresa.

Catherine introduced many reforms in the Russian government. In 1775, for example, she created fifty governments, or provinces, each to be ruled by a governor. She also assembled a group of advisers at St. Petersburg who were commissioned to draw up a new code of laws for Russia. In the instructions which Catherine issued for the purpose, she stated that "the nation is not made for the sovereign, but the sovereign for the nation." She publicly condemned intolerance, religious persecutions, and cruel punishments. She actually welcomed Jesuits to Russia after their order had been suppressed by the pope in 1773. She appeared anxious to instruct the upper and middle classes. "To triumph over secular superstitions," she said one day, "to give a new education, and in one sense a new life to the people, is a work demanding incredible toil, and of which posterity alone will reap the fruits."

During the second half of the eighteenth century it had become fashionable for continental rulers to patronize the great philosophers of France. Catherine II corresponded with Voltaire, subscribed to the Encyclopedia of Diderot, had one of the philosophers tutor her son Paul, and frequently expressed great admiration for the men who were attacking the Old Régime, whereupon they in turn flattered her and represented her as the most enlightened monarch in Europe. St. Petersburg was enriched with libraries and innumerable works of art purchased by the empress. The Russian Academy, patterned in some degree after the French Academy, was founded in 1783. A newspaper, called the "Moscow Gazette," was founded, Russian ty-

pography created, and several periodicals published for the cultured families.

Although a few secondary schools were opened to the public, and some of the sparsely populated areas in central Russia were colonized; although the tsarina had called an assembly to consider the reform of political institutions, she did very little for the lower classes. Social conditions were actually aggravated by her. More than 150,000 crown peasants became serfs of nobles. The latter, unwilling to surrender the privileges which they as a class had so long enjoyed, prevailed upon their ruler to confine her reforms only to the most flagrant abuses in the government. Church property was secularized, but even that act showed little desire on the part of the ruler to benefit her people as a whole. Secularization of church lands in other countries usually implied a selfish policy. Even the tsarina's toleration was no sign of virtue, since she possessed no religion herself. She was opposed to cruel punishments, but did nothing to prevent the nobles from inflicting them upon the serfs. She favored the spread of education, but preferred to keep the lower classes ignorant. Many a real reformer was flogged by her officials, and she wrote to the governor of Moscow: "The day when our farmers wish to become enlightened, both you and I will lose our places." Shortly after the outbreak of the French Revolution, Catherine II became one of the most reactionary rulers on the Continent.

Her foreign policy resembled that of Peter the Great. To weaken Sweden, Poland, and the Ottoman Empire was clearly her aim, and, if one considers the fortuitous circumstances which aided her in her foreign conquests, one scarcely approves of her cognomen "the Great." Neither the Swedes nor the Poles nor the Turks were in any position to withstand a single good army. Disintegration and dissolution were so plainly at work in Poland and the Ottoman Empire that no ruler of a country like Russia needed to exert much energy in dismembering these two countries.

The Decline of Poland and the Ottoman Empire

How Poland, which in the year 1400 was the largest state in Europe, a country blessed with great deposits of coal and iron, and immense areas of fertile soil; inhabited by an intelligent people; favored by the course taken by the Reformation, —how this great country, which now is again one of Europe's largest states, declined from the level of economic and political power attained at the end of the Middle Ages to complete dismemberment at the close of the eighteenth century, is one of the strangest episodes in modern history.

In the sixteenth century the kingdom of Poland, to which was attached the duchy of Lithuania, was not without promise of future greatness. Undisturbed by the commotion caused by the Reformation, except for a few years at the end of the century, the country faced neither civil war nor attack by its neighbors. Sweden was expanding only along the eastern shores of the Baltic, Prussia and Brandenburg were insignificant countries, the grand-duchy of Muscovy had not yet made much progress, and the Turks were swarming westward past the country. Poland had no natural frontiers, except possibly a few rivers, but it is doubtful whether the absence of natural frontiers was a real disadvantage. The lack of such frontiers was making it possible for Brandenburg to expand more rapidly, while a country like Sweden was to find its natural frontiers a bar to the maintenance of dominions beyond the Baltic Sea. The inhabitants of Poland were brave and chivalrous. They had long been Roman Catholics for the most part, and were to remain so. Why could not Poland, which in 1600 was still ten times as large as Brandenburg-Prussia, and seemingly as powerful a state as Russia,—why could it not gain the lead of both Brandenburg and Russia? How easy it seemed for Poland to annex East Prussia, which was separated from Brandenburg by a wide strip of Polish territory, if a glance at the map was the true criterion of relative strength!

It frequently happens, however, that the economic and political power of a nation does not at all correspond to its size. Potential causes of weakness in Poland were numerous. Diversity of races might at any time lead to civil strife. In the west the Poles formed the majority of the population, while in the eastern districts the Lithuanians were dominant. Many thousands of Cossacks and Ruthenians lived near the eastern frontier, while settlements of Swedes and Germans were found along the northern and western borders. The country was also lacking in religious unity. While the Poles remained almost uniformly Roman Catholics, the people in the eastern half of the country were divided in the allegiance to the Roman Catholic and the Greek Catholic churches. The Germans and Swedes were nearly all Protestants; they clamored for toleration and frequently intrigued with foreign rulers to weaken the power of the Catholic Church in Poland. Then there were the numerous Jews, who remained aliens from generation to generation.

There seems to be little reason why the Polish people could not have responded to the appeal made by a strong and efficient government to form a great and prosperous nation. But they never appear to have had an opportunity to do so. The two social classes in Poland were the aristocracy, which was largely composed of wealthy nobles, and the serfs. Out of a population of twelve million, there were nearly a million and a half nobles. The middle class in the cities had almost entirely disappeared. The nobles controlled nearly the whole wealth of the country and all of the political power; they treated the serfs almost as slaves, and, since the latter scarcely could regulate their own lives, they had not the slightest power to interfere in the government. Hence the nobles, being checked by none of their own countrymen, selfishly guided the destinies of the Polish people, seeking to advance only the interests of the aristocracy. They devised a system of government so cumbersome and so ineffectual that Poland was doomed sooner or later to become a prey to greedy neighbors.

After the nobles had completely subjugated all the other inhabitants of their country, they had but one rival to fear, namely, the king. In some of the countries of western Europe, as in England and France, the ruler had succeeded in reducing the influence of the nobles. The Polish aristocracy was determined that this should never happen in Poland. In 1572 they made the kingship elective instead of hereditary, and at the beginning of every reign they obliged the new king to sign a compact in which he agreed to exercise no powers except the command of the army and the appointment of officials. The trend throughout the seventeenth century was toward total extinction of the royal prerogative. Even the command of the army conferred little power on the king, since the national army was insignificant compared with the armies maintained by the fifteen or sixteen most powerful nobles.

The government formulated by the nobles consisted of a senate, a sort of upper house, and a diet in which every nobleman used to have a seat, but which since the end of the fifteenth century had become a "house of representatives," composed of delegates from the provincial assemblies of the nobles. These delegates always voted as they had been instructed to do by their local districts. In the sixteenth century every one of the delegates had what was called the *liberum veto,* or the right to veto any proposed law. Each one of the ten thousand noblemen in the diet could completely obstruct the passage of a bill, and the result was naturally disastrous for the country as a whole; could anybody ever propose a bill which seemed satisfactory to all the others? Another detrimental custom was the right given to members of the diet to withdraw from the meeting whenever they chose, and so "explode" the whole diet, as the Poles said.

If the Polish noblemen could be foolish enough to devise such stupid practices as the *liberum veto*, they must have been subject to bribery as well. The French government realized

the possibilities of wholesale bribery in the Polish diet. Louis XIV is supposed to have spent fifty million livres for this purpose, while huge sums were also invested by the Habsburg emperors. Since the French diplomats before 1700 offered more liberal terms than the agents of the Emperor, they directed the foreign policy of Poland to the advantage of France. After the year 1700 the electors of Saxony were elected kings of Poland, and they manipulated the resources of Poland to further their own selfish ends. All the neighboring countries deemed it to their advantage to increase disorder in Poland. Before long they began to seize the outlying provinces for themselves. Sweden, as was noted above, annexed Livonia, and the elector of Brandenburg cut the feudal ties between East Prussia and the king of Poland. During the wars carried on by Denmark, Poland, and Russia against Charles XII of Sweden (1700–1720), Polish territory was overrun by foreign troops as if it were a no man's land.

The first real warning came to the Polish nobles when in 1733 the War of the Polish Succession broke out. Foreign rulers fought for control of the Polish government without regard for the welfare of the people living in Poland; even the noblemen were treated with little respect. It usually happens that the citizens of a given country, when they are attacked by a common foe, forget mutual grievances among themselves and unite against the enemy. But the noblemen of Poland knew nothing of patriotism, nor did they comprehend the signals of the impending catastrophe. Only one fortress, no ammunition, and a small army of ten thousand men were the means of defense placed at the disposal of the Polish government. Is it surprising that a cynic like Frederick the Great and a heartless despot like Catherine II cast covetous eyes on the fertile plains of the defenseless nation?

In 1764 the king of Prussia and the tsarina of Russia signed a treaty providing for the election of Stanislas Poniatowski,

a favorite of Catherine II. The latter disapproved of the election of Saxon rulers, since they were usually on friendly terms with the Habsburg emperors. Poland, reasoned Catherine, was merely an extension of Russia; it was her duty to supervise the management of Polish affairs. She agreed with Frederick II that anarchy in Poland should be encouraged, so that the country might be incorporated into the dominions of Russia and Prussia. When the Polish noblemen heard of this, their eyes were opened at last to the menace of dismemberment threatening their country. They made desperate attempts to reform their constitution and to put their nation into a state of adequate defense. But it was too late. What should have been accomplished a hundred years earlier, was now an impossibility. The Roman Catholics, who had been angered by the way in which the Protestants and the members of the Greek, or Orthodox Catholic, Church had received support from the Prussians and the Russians, rose in rebellion against the foreigners. They were forthwith crushed by the troops of Catherine II. It so happened that when some of the Poles fled across the border into the Ottoman Empire, where they were pursued by the Russians, the Turks declared war on Russia (1768).

It must not be imagined, however, that this declaration of war by the Turks was unpremeditated.There had long been a state of intense hostility between Russians and Turks. When Charles XII of Sweden had fled to the Ottoman Empire after the battle of Poltava in 1709, he stirred up a war which was only terminated when Peter the Great surrendered Azov to the Turks. Since that event the Russians constantly attempted to incite the Christians in the Ottoman Empire to rebel against their Mohammedan masters. In the war which in 1768 broke out between the Russians and the Turks, the former were usually the victors. They seized Moldavia and Wallachia, the two provinces which were later united into the kingdom of Roumania. They captured important strongholds north of the Black

Sea, and even defeated a Turkish fleet on the Ægean Sea. Having reached the Danube as the result of occupying Wallachia, they seriously contemplated further conquests.

The advance of the Russians into the Balkan Peninsula created a serious diplomatic situation. The Austrians were greatly alarmed; the French also wished to intervene. The conquest of the Balkan Peninsula and of Constantinople by Russia was as unwelcome to France then as it was in the middle of the nineteenth century; so the French joined the Austrians in making plans for the support of the Turks against further Russian advances.

After the Diplomatic Revolution of 1755–1756 the French and the Austrians for a time were both friendly toward the Polish people. They resented the influence of Frederick the Great at the Polish court, and, when they heard of the shameless agreement made in 1764 by the Prussian and Russian governments concerning the fate of Poland, they seriously contemplated another war against Prussia, but it was lack of resources that prevented drastic action. Kaunitz, the Austrian diplomat, was at his wits' end. The Russo-Turkish war of 1768, however, altered the situation somewhat. Perhaps, reasoned Kaunitz, the Russians might be diverted from the Balkan Peninsula by a partition of Poland. If Russia were given a large slice of territory on its western frontier, it might be willing to relinquish its hold on the Balkan Peninsula, where the Austrians wished to create their own sphere of influence. Kaunitz suggested that Frederick the Great of Prussia discuss this matter personally with Joseph, the son of Maria Theresa, and since 1765 emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Two meetings were held; one in October, 1769; the other in September, 1770. The result was the removal of much of the distrust between the two rulers as well as between their respective governments. When Catherine II informed the Prussians at the end of 1770 that she was determined to keep Wallachia and Moldavia, Frederick II was greatly displeased and publicly an-

nounced his refusal to support Russia in her aggression.

In 1769 Emperor Joseph proceeded to annex a few small bits of Polish territory, and in the following year he seized some more. Compared with subsequent annexations, the aggression of Joseph was a very innocent affair. But it had far-reaching consequences. In 1771 Frederick the Great wrote: "Russia occupies a large part of Turkish territory and threatens yet more. Each appeals to me against the other, and at present I am in the situation of an arbiter who possesses no equivalent of land to balance their proposed acquisitions." He proposed a definite plan of partition, asking for Prussia merely the relatively small province of West Prussia. Although Catherine II was extremely reluctant to acquiesce in his plan, she knew that if she kept her conquests in the Balkan Peninsula, Prussia would resort to war, in which Austria would undoubtedly support Prussia and the Ottoman Empire.

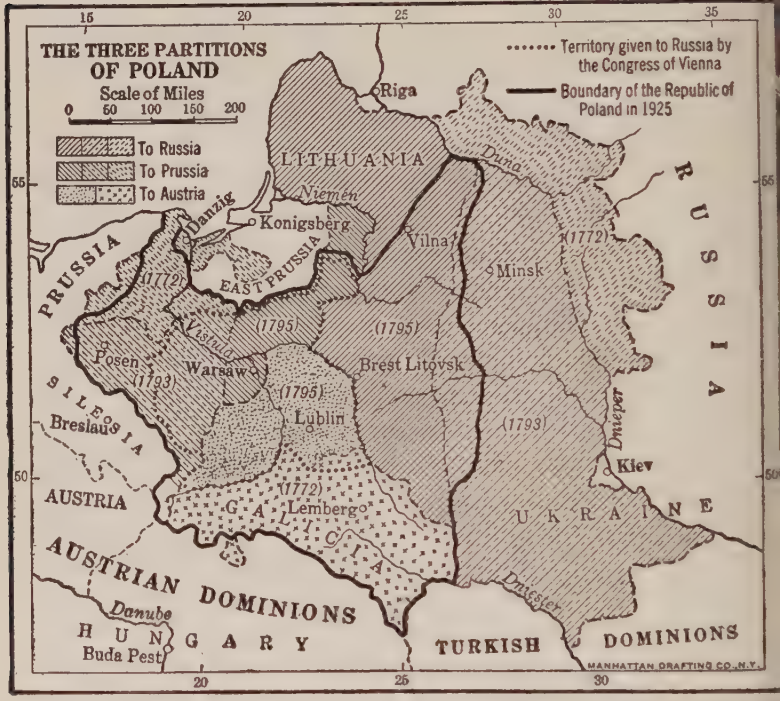
In 1771 there was only one ruler who possessed enough conscience to oppose the shameless partition. This was Maria Theresa, the mother of Emperor Joseph. Her character presented a strange contrast to that of most of her contemporaries. She lived in an age when it was fashionable to be immoral, and although the enlightened despots endeavored for the most part to ameliorate social conditions, they intrigued against each other in a most heartless fashion. Maria Theresa was a rare exception. That she was completely misunderstood by the cynical Frederick II was not her fault, but it is rather surprising that historians of the following century should have taken his words at their face value. "She took though she wept," said Frederick, while the French ambassador at Vienna remarked: "She carved territory from Poland with one hand and used her handkerchief with the other." As a matter of fact, she wept simply because her son, the emperor, could not be stopped. Even the English government expressed no indignation after it had been offered a number of commercial advantages.

The partition of 1772 deprived Poland of one fourth of its territory and one third of its inhabitants. Prussia received only 644 square miles of territory with 600,000 inhabitants; Russia acquired "White Russia," or the eastern part of Lithuania, an area comprising 1975 square miles with 1,800,000 inhabitants; Austria gained 1400 square miles with a population of 3,000,000 inhabitants. Prussia gained a district of immense strategic value, since it closed the gap between Brandenburg and East Prussia, but Russia secured the wealthiest part, while Austria obtained the most thickly populated area. Frederick cynically remarked that the partition "inaugurated a new era of international justice and good feeling." He did not care to find a pretext for maintaining the corrupt system of government in Poland. He and his two imperial friends hoped for larger gains when the Polish people showed themselves completely incapable of governing themselves.

Two years after the first partition of Poland the Russo-Turkish war came to a close. Russia relinquished Wallachia and Moldavia, but recovered Azov and a few other towns north of the Black Sea. Russian merchants were henceforth to trade freely on the Black Sea and the straits between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, while the Russian government received the right to protect some Christian churches in Constantinople. The weakness of Poland had averted the danger of Russian encroachment in the Balkan Peninsula. The tsarina, however, not only came to regard herself the protector of a few churches in Constantinople, but of all the Christians in the Balkan Peninsula, while she also proceeded to subjugate the Tartars south of the Black Sea. Austria in the meantime persuaded the Turks to surrender Bukowina to her, since she had saved Turkish losses in the Balkan Peninsula.

When in the year 1788 another war broke out between Russia and Turkey, the Poles took advantage of the altered situation and drastically reformed their constitution. The cities were granted self-government, the members of the middle class were

permitted to fill offices in the army and the Church, and they secured the right to buy land from the nobles. The *liberum veto* was abolished and the king received considerable executive power. Although the reforms introduced in 1791 and 1792 were excellent and would have saved Poland a century earlier,



it was now too late. Peace signed with Turkey in 1792 enabled Russia to advance its frontier to the Dniester river and allowed her a free hand in Poland.

It should be observed that the Poles in 1792 could not suddenly undo the work of centuries. Ever since the close of the Middle Ages, Poland had kept alive medieval customs which in many other European countries were being discarded as obstacles to the development of economic resources and of political power. The loss of municipal freedom, the decrease of royal

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE
1600-1800
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 600
Ottoman Empire about 1565
Acquisitions 1566 to 1683
Greatest extent of Ottoman Empire about 1695
Ottoman Empire in 1800
Dependent States are shown with bands of shading.
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO., N.Y.
RUSSIA
POLAND
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ITALY
CRIMEA
CIRCASSIA
GEORGIA
ARMENIA
AZERBAIJAN
KURDISTAN
MESOPOTAMIA
PERSIA
ARABIA
EGYPT
TRIPOLI
TUNIS
ALGERIA
WALLACHIA
MOLDAVIA
TRANSYLVANIA
SERVIA
BULGARIA
RUMELIA
ALBANIA
BOSNIA
MONTE NEGRO
ANATOLIA
CYPRUS 1677
CRETE 1669
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
PERSIAN GULF
Constantinople
Adrianople
Nicomedia
Smyrna
Gallipoli
Salonica
Philippopolis
Trebizond
Sinope
Erzerum
Tabriz
Mosul
Diarbekr
Aleppo
Damascus
Antioch
Beyrout
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez
Tripoli
Malvasia
Modon
Lepanto
Athens
Corinth
Kaffa
Azof
Derbend
Volga
Don
Dniester
Danube
Vienna
Neuhausel
Presburg
Buda
Pest
Temesvar
Belgrade
Zara
Adriatic
Antivari
Sea
Corsica
Sardinia
Sicily
Tunis
Malta
Ionian
Archipelago
Black
Caucasus Mts.
Kuban
Crimea
Dniester
Bessarabia
Jedusan
Narva
Karass
Kermian
Hamid
Aidin
Carasi
Mitylene
Scio
Samos
Rhodes
Cyprus
Sea of Marmora
Dardanelles
Euphrates
Tigris
Basra
El Hasa
Sinai
Suez
Canal

authority in a country dominated by a warlike nobility, the constant intermeddling by foreigners, and the appalling hardships of the serfs had weakened the nation so long that it would have taken at least a decade to place Poland on an equal footing with its powerful neighbors. Furthermore, the outbreak of the French Revolution completely altered the political situation in central Europe. The French government, engaged in a bitter contest with Austria and Prussia, could not render assistance to the Polish people. Turkey, as has just been observed, had made peace with Russia. What could poor Poland do without natural frontiers and without a strong army? Since Austria was now busily engaged in an attempt to crush the French Revolution, only Russia and Prussia participated in the partition of 1793, the former acquiring territory with three million inhabitants, the latter an area with about a million and a half inhabitants. Two years later, when the Poles frantically attempted to save themselves by force of arms, the third and final partition resulted, which gave Russia, Prussia, and Austria all the remaining Polish territory. And so it came about that Poland, which in the year 1400 was the largest state in Europe, was totally extinguished as an independent nation four centuries later. However, the Polish people, trampled upon by three great powers, remained a distinct race with memories of past greatness, waiting patiently for the day when Russia, Prussia, and Austria would fight against each other. The day arrived in due course, and when in 1918 the World War came to an end, the Peace of Versailles created another and better Poland, which now has attained a population of more than thirty million inhabitants.

SUGGESTED READINGS

PETER THE GREAT

A. H. Johnson, *The Age of the Enlightened Despots,* chapters IV, V.

A. Hassall, *The Balance of Power,* chapters V, XI.

J. Mavor, *Economic History of Russia,* vol. I, chapters IV–VII. Treats the social and economic reform attempted by Peter the Great.

E. Schuyler, *Peter the Great,* 2 vols. Scholarly and readable.

K. Waliszewski, *Peter the Great,* translated from the French by M. Loyd. Authentic.

Catherine the Great

E. A. B. Hodgetts, *The Life of Catherine the Great.*

A. Hassall, *The Balance of Power,* 1715–1789, chapter XIII.

J. Mavor, *Economic History of Russia,* vol. I, book II, chapter VI.

W. R. A. Morfill, *History of Russia,* chapter IX.

Sweden, Poland, and Turkey

R. N. Bain, *Scandinavia.*

R. N. Bain, *Charles XII.* A popular biography of considerable merit.

W. A. Phillips, *Poland,* chapters I–VI. A fairly elementary account.

W. R. A. Morfill, *Poland.* Interesting and trustworthy for the most part.

R. N. Bain, *The Last King of Poland and his Contemporaries.*

R. H. Lord, *The Second Partition of Poland.* A study in Diplomatic History.

J. S. Orvis, *A Brief History of Poland,* chapter V.

S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey.* A popular history.

E. A. Freeman, *The Ottoman Power in Europe, its Nature, its Growth and its Decline.*

F. Schevill, *The History of the Balkan Peninsula,* chapter XIX.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL EUROPE BEFORE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The chief reason why Poland had fallen was because its middle class had been suppressed; and one reason why Prussia had risen was because its middle classes had begun to use the powers to which they were entitled. Those nations which were composed of a powerful middle class were destined to forge ahead while the others were bound to decline. Where agriculture flourished, where industry and commerce thrived, the power of the nobility was threatened. In the eighteenth century the privileged classes and the monarchs still exercised powers and enjoyed privileges far greater than seem proper to the democratic peoples of today. Already in that century, however, a host of "reformers" sought to expose the abuses prevailing in government and society, just as in the fifteenth century, before the outbreak of the Reformation, reformers had aimed to correct abuses in church and state.

A reformation or a revolution was impending. Enlightened despots vied with emancipated philosophers to herald the rise of social equality. The scandalous mismanagement of national finances, the unscrupulous absolutism of nearly all the rulers, the indolence and unmerited privileges of many of the nobles, the criminal diplomacy of unprincipled statesmen, the intolerance of the dominant churches, the cruel punishments meted out by the corrupt courts,—in short, the lack of justice and equity was so manifest that many voices cried out for reform. When the wretched plight of the farmers in most continental countries was contrasted with the gaiety and frivolity of the

privileged classes, the conscientious philosopher felt a strong urge to denounce the "old régime," as European society of the eighteenth century later came to be called.

Europe on the eve of the French Revolution was not unlike the Europe just before the beginning of the Reformation. An era fraught with momentous changes seemed at hand. The peasants, groaning under painful burdens; the restless middle class, conscious of injustice done to them, and eager for power; and the great thinkers of the time conspired to overthrow the whole fabric of society which enabled the privileged classes to exercise rights that long ago had been justly earned but had now ceased to be their due. The time had come for a great upheaval, for a transformation in the political institutions, the social customs, the religious beliefs, and the whole realm of science, literature, and art.

The Privileged Classes

Although the higher clergy and the nobility comprised not more than one per cent of the total population of Europe, they exercised powers completely out of proportion to their limited number. There was a time, long before the dawn of modern civilization, when the clergy and the noblemen richly deserved the rights and privileges bestowed upon them or seized by them. When the Roman Empire broke down before the assaults of Teutonic barbarians, when chaos and destruction supplanted order and prosperity, the members of the clergy joined hands with the foremost nobles to protect the farmers and the townspeople against Goths, Vandals, and Huns; and later against Northmen. For several centuries the Church was almost the sole agent which maintained the cause of education, while the feudal armies of the great nobles rendered military services, enabling the towns and the rural communities to rebuild what marauding barbarians had destroyed. Serfdom and feudalism had grown up on the ruins of earlier institutions. "Lords spirit-

ual and lords temporal," or the first and second estate, comprising the higher clergy and the noblemen, had assumed a great variety of privileges and responsibilities, which seemed perfectly logical in the early Middle Ages, but when the responsibilities were gradually dropped and the privileges remained unchanged, the situation began to assume a very different aspect.

As late as the eighteenth century, the clergy and the nobility still owned about one-half of all the land in Europe and controlled more than two-thirds of all the capital. In most European countries the nobility continued to abuse the lowly peasants, and remained tyrants over the serfs. Hundreds of castles dotted the landscape wherever one traveled; they seemed to frown on the humble farmers, as if to say that they must not try to raise their hand against the oppressor, since he was their superior, endowed by the Creator of the universe with special rights. Almost everywhere it was considered a disgrace for a nobleman to perform manual labor. The lower classes were meant to do all the menial tasks, while noblemen were expected to live gay and carefree lives, supported by the toil of lowly peasants and industrious townspeople. The common people were born into their modest station in society; the nobility inherited wealth, honor, and leisure; they, too, were born into their station.

Social customs varied greatly in different countries. In England serfdom had disappeared before the year 1500, and of feudalism only a few vestiges had survived since the sixteenth century. Although the noblemen still formed a distinct social class, their homes had lost somehow that grim aspect which characterized the castles on the Continent. The English nobility had lost the age-long contest with the crown, thereby relinquishing the right to maintain armed retainers and independent courts; neither they nor the clergy enjoyed special privileges under the law of the country such as were so common in France and other continental countries. The War of the Roses

(1455–1485), the absolutism of the Tudor monarchs (1485–1603), and the growing powers of the House of Commons had placed the nobility in the awkward position between two hostile camps, that of the crown and of the middle class. First it was the monarch that weakened it, later the House of Commons. There were still a considerable number of dukes and earls; it was still a great honor to be a peer and sit in the House of Lords, where the higher clergy also were represented; but no nobleman in England could lord it over the common people as could his kinsmen across the Channel. The institution of primogeniture still prevailed in England, giving to the eldest son of a noble all his property and also his rank; while in continental countries the title was transmitted to all the children, thus making it possible for the nobility to maintain the ratio between upper and lower classes in society. It must not be imagined, however, that the English nobility was completely shorn of prestige and power. The lesser nobles, usually named the country gentry, formed a numerous and very influential class; they owned enormous holdings of land, and together with the greater nobles filled nearly all the choice positions in the civil service, the municipal governments, the church, the army, and the navy. Furthermore, the great nobles, in no small measure, controlled the House of Commons.

In France the nobles enjoyed many special privileges which had been earned by former generations and were retained by the nobility even after the crown had relieved it of the duties performed in the Middle Ages. Royal armies had supplanted the forces of the nobles, while courts, controlled entirely by the government, had taken over most of the jurisdiction formerly exercised by manorial courts. And although the Church no longer took so leading a part in education as it had done in medieval time; although its monks no longer were the chief promoters of improved agriculture and its priests no longer the only protectors of the sick and poor and homeless, nevertheless its prelates rivaled the greater nobles in wealth and honor and

influence. The clergy and nobility in France each owned about one-fifth of the land. Both estates were almost entirely exempt from taxation; both nobles and prelates were treated with the utmost respect by the common people. They truly were deemed "lords spiritual and lords temporal." The nobles in particular showed in their manner, their speech, and their dress that they regarded themselves infinitely superior to the rank and file of the "vulgar masses," whom they so greatly despised. Since serfdom and feudalism had maintained themselves in several important districts, a great many noblemen still received the old feudal dues, and obliged the serfs to render services without pay.

The abbots, bishops, and archbishops, being unmarried, could neither inherit nor transmit property or titles. Theoretically they were not to have personal property. Like the pope, who lived in the magnificent Vatican at Rome, surrounded by immense riches, but owning none of the manuscripts, books, pictures, and other treasures in his palace; so the other members of the clergy were not supposed to own land personally, or to receive personal gifts of great value. In practice, however, many influential members of the higher clergy possessed beautiful homes of their own. One bishop in eastern France enjoyed an income equivalent to $500,000 a year. Both in the government and in the church there were a great many positions which entailed practically no work at all. Such a position was called a *sinecure,* for the incumbent had no duties to perform which were worth any care. One official received about $3,500 a year for signing his name twice, and there was one cardinal, named De Rohan, whose income was about $2,500,000 a year, although his services to the Church were of less spiritual value than those of the average curate who received an annual stipend of $150. In the fifteenth century the French clergy had been criticized for widespread indolence, inasmuch as it had become the custom for many of its members to absent themselves from the congregations entrusted to their care. The Catholic Refor-

mation had resulted in much improvement, but during the eighteenth century a feeling of indifference characterized the lives of many abbots and bishops. This feeling was shared by hundreds of noblemen, for whom it became a regular custom to leave the country and settle down in gay Versailles or Paris, where they indulged in feasting and frivolity.

East of the Rhine, conditions resembled more nearly those of the earlier centuries than either in France or in England. Since the Treaties of Westphalia (1648) the power of the Emperor, in contrast with that of the French king, had so greatly declined that each ruler in the three hundred and fifty sovereign states of the Holy Roman Empire could make war and peace as he chose, raise armies, levy taxes, dictate his form of religion to his subjects, coin money, and hold courts exactly as he chose. Furthermore, outside of Prussia and Austria, there were thousands of nobles who lived in fortified castles and defied the power of the government in their respective states. Most of the petty courts in the German states were simply miniature patterns of Versailles, where Louis XIV had erected a palace at the cost of $100,000,000 surpassing in brilliance all other princely courts, but setting the standard for those who approved of his despotic rule. As in Versailles, so in several courts in central Europe, hosts of nobles lived in luxury and gay abandon. In Prussia and Austria they had lost much of their political power; particularly in Prussia the simplicity and austerity of court life was a marked contrast to the glitter of gorgeous dress and works of art seen in so many courts of petty rulers who squeezed their revenues from the pockets of half-starved subjects. But even in Prussia and Austria the nobles were exempt from several taxes and filled important offices simply because of class distinction.

East of the Holy Roman Empire the nobility enjoyed even greater power than in the other European countries. In Poland, as was mentioned above, neither the crown nor the middle class had been able to deprive the nobles of their ancient rights,

while in Russia serfdom still reigned supreme. Worse than that, the Russian serfs were little more than slaves. Even in Scandinavia, where serfdom was never strong, the nobility retained much the same privileges as the French nobles, and the same was true of the nobility in Spain, Portugal, and Italy. In Holland and Switzerland the nobility was not nearly so influential, for in these two countries the cities had usurped a great deal of political power. However, the masses of the people had acquired virtually no rights of representation in the government. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries even the Swiss and the Dutch Republics had safeguarded the power of the aristocracy. All European countries were still ruled by monarchies or aristocracies. The time had not yet come for democracy.

The Rise of the Middle Class

One of the most important developments in modern history has been the rise of the middle class. Whereas in the year 1500 nine tenths of the population of Europe lived in rural communities, where the land as a rule was cultivated by serfs or hired men for the nobility, while in the towns the lower class also formed a very large majority of the population,—in the middle of the eighteenth century the leading nations witnessed the rapid growth of the middle class, or *bourgeoisie*. Contemporary chroniclers probably did not observe the significance of this phenomenon. Unaccompanied by noisy battles and bloody contests, unheralded by insurrection or revolution, the movement swept on through decade after decade. Wherever commerce and industry thrived, wherever serfdom disappeared, the middle class steadily advanced to a position of affluence and prestige. Unobserved by the selfish nobles, the middle class was gradually preparing to deal a death blow to the "old régime" by demolishing the special rights and privileges of the upper

class and so to blaze the way for that great upheaval, the French Revolution.

More important than any great battle of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, more important perhaps than the War of the Spanish Succession or the Seven Years' War was the growth of the middle class, for it was this middle class which was making Great Britain the greatest nation in Europe, and it was the extinction of this class in Poland which led up to the dismemberment of Poland. The middle class came to possess the money, the energy, the brain power, and the ambition which strengthened it in its attack on the power of the higher clergy and of the nobility until at last the great crash followed. This seemed at times like a triumph of the workingmen, but turned out to be almost entirely a gain for the middle class. First came financial power, later political influence; both crown and privileged classes were the victims who finally were forced to surrender many of their special rights.

In the seventeenth century the middle class had won its greatest victory in Holland, where between 1648 and 1672 the government was so strongly dominated by the merchants of Amsterdam that, contrary to the terms of an alliance made with France for the partition of the Spanish Netherlands, the Dutch government proceeded to uphold the integrity of the latter district, in order that Antwerp might remain a "dead port," instead of the foremost rival of Amsterdam. Recent researches of several historians in Europe have proved that both the Dutch War of Louis XIV (1672–1678) and the so-called War of the League of Augsburg (1689–1697) were to a large extent the result of commercial rivalry between Dutch and French merchants, while the two wars fought between England and Holland from 1652–1654 and 1665–1667 were almost exclusively trade wars. The only war ever declared by Holland was that against Sweden in 1658, because Sweden threatened to close the entrance of the Baltic Sea and so destroy the Dutch

trade on the Baltic. It may not be apparent that these five wars just mentioned, fought largely by the Dutch for the benefit of one city, had exceedingly important consequences in Europe, America, and India. The tendency has too often been to disregard entirely the rôle played in seventeenth century politics by the merchants of Amsterdam.

In the eighteenth century London was the world's greatest port and English commerce and industry had no equal. Consequently the middle class in England became the most powerful in Europe. It was composed not merely of merchants and manufacturers, however, but also of professional men and a part of the country gentry. The physicians, lawyers, professors, judges, magistrates, artists, authors, and philosophers all belonged to the middle class. And so did many offspring of peers, because only the oldest son in each family inherited the title and property, wherefore the other sons usually entered some profession and thereby affiliated themselves with the middle class.

Among the leading continental countries France possessed the most influential middle class. As in England, this class consisted of shop-keepers, traders, literary men, magistrates, and professional men. Although the middle class was but slightly larger than the first and second estates combined, its financial power won for it many rights and concessions from the king. Whenever the nobles or the king were in need of money, the wealthy bankers and merchants advanced the required funds in return for new favors. Many hundreds of wealthy men had bought from the king of France the noble rank. And it was no uncommon event to see the daughter of a banker marry the son of some poor duke or count, thus saving the son's family from financial ruin; something which is reënacted many a time in our own day. In Italy, Scandinavia, and the free cities of the Holy Roman Empire the middle class was comparatively influential, but in Spain, Austria, Hungary, Prussia, and Russia it had not yet risen to power.

The cities were the home of the middle class; commerce and industry were the backbone of their strength. Attending the expansion of industry and commerce was the growth of the cities and the rise of the middle class. Compared with the city population of today, however, the cities in the eighteenth century were few and insignificant. It has been estimated that in 1800 England and Wales had fifteen cities with more than 20,000 people, while in 1900 there were more than a hundred such cities. At the end of the eighteenth century Europe as a whole had not more than one hundred towns with a population of 10,000 inhabitants. In 1800 the population of Paris was about 750,000, while that of London had reached 700,000. Berlin counted fewer than 200,000 inhabitants, while Vienna was a trifle larger.

Unlike the magnificent cities of the present time with their broad thoroughfares, their street-car systems, their sewers, their lights, their police, and their fire departments, the towns of the eighteenth century were just beginning to make a few of the modern improvements. The old walls in many places were being torn down, in order to make room for boulevards; the more prosperous cities spread beyond the old medieval quarters, and in the outlying parts the streets became wider, straighter, and cleaner. A few streets were being paved here and there with cobble-stones. Street-lamps, burning oil, were installed; a few night watchmen were stationed to protect the burghers who came home late in the evening, but most of the latter found police protection so inadequate that they carried arms of their own. Cows, pigs, and geese still prowled about the streets, and the rain frequently flowed in rivulets through the mud past the homes of wealthy inhabitants.

The gild system was also slow to make way for more modern customs and institutions. On the Continent it was almost as firmly intrenched as at the opening of the sixteenth century, but in England it had greatly declined. Merchant gilds and craft gilds were more complicated than ever, due to the impor-

tation and manufacture of many new products. An infinite number of regulations were devised to define the relationship between apprentices, journeymen, and masters; to fix prices and to set standards. The gild system helped to maintain the prestige of the middle class, for just as the nobles in the rural districts made the downtrodden peasants work sixteen hours a day for a mere pittance, so the masters in the various craft gilds insisted on low wages and long hours. It took many weary years of incessant toil before the poor apprentice could become a journeyman, while the number of journeymen who were permitted to advance to the rank of the masters was strictly limited. Everybody had to abide by the regulations of his particular gild; he could have just so many apprentices (usually but one or two), and he could never take up another trade, nor change prices and wages. There were often bitter disputes between various gilds, particularly in France, and it is obvious that the numerous regulations hampered the free flow of industry and commerce.

It is very easy and apparently very natural to overestimate the importance of the gilds in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But it should be noted that only the smaller crafts and trades were controlled by gilds, that newer cities were unhampered by gilds and did not develop them to any extent, and that the gilds literally "choked themselves to death in their own bands." Presently great trading companies were founded which completely overshadowed the business of the gilds. The latter, retrenching themselves behind oligarchic control, shut out all outsiders, refused to accept the new inventions, shunned innovations, and so brought upon themselves the process of stagnation. The new companies drew away from the old gilds a large share of their trade; in several instances they even absorbed the latter. The commercial companies, like the English East India Company, the Dutch East India Company, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the French Indies Company, did business on such a large scale that a thousand gilds could

scarcely equal one of the former. In the history of Europe in the seventeenth century one is apt to read a great deal about Colbert and his efforts to promote French commerce and industry, but one should not lose sight of the fact that as late as the year 1667 Dutch traders controlled nine tenths of the foreign trade of France. And so one should not single out the gilds for too much attention, since they were institutions of the past, being rapidly crowded out by the great commercial companies, the numerous inventions, the growth of new cities, the expansion of old cities beyond the cramped quarters of medieval times, and finally by hostile governments, which through legislation killed the little life that still survived.

But regardless of the decline of the gild system, the middle class advanced to a position where it began to threaten the supremacy of crown and privileged classes. The power wielded by money in the history of civilization may be overemphasized, but must not be ignored. What could even a despotic king do without the loans advanced at times by the great bankers? When clergy and nobility refused to shoulder the financial burdens of the government, and when the farmers could no longer bear them alone, the great question was bound to arise, Where shall the king of France get the necessary funds? Many other questions were soon to be raised. It was perfectly reasonable for the distinguished philosophers, the capable magistrates, and the scholarly professional men to ask, Why should the nobles and the higher clergy own so much land, enjoy so many privileges, and live those lives of luxury and ease, when we have the brains, the energy, and the capital which keep our country going? In England the inhabitants of the rapidly growing centers of industry were beginning to clamor for reform in the franchise and in the system of representative government. In all countries of western Europe the privileged classes were facing the menace of reform or revolution. It was evident that such a movement would be directed by and for the middle class.

The Peasantry

Few changes had occurred in the lives of the peasants and in agriculture generally since the sixteenth century. Sickle and scythe were as widely used in 1750 as in 1550; threshing showed practically no improvement, and the wooden plows were still drawn slowly across the little patches of cultivated ground. In many districts on the Continent one third of the arable land had to lie fallow in order to maintain the fertility of the soil, but gradually the area spread in which farmers resorted to manipulation of fertilizers and to the rotation of crops. From year to year more farmers began to realize the advantage of growing clover and turnips for winter fodder, so that they would no longer have to kill all their cows in the fall. However, farming methods upon the whole compared so unfavorably with those of our time that many of our farmers would refuse to believe the historian who told them that in 1750 a good cow weighed only 350 pounds and good clay soil produced but eight bushels of wheat to an acre.

The peasants on the Continent lived in small cottages huddled closely together in villages, most of which had belonged to noblemen, bishops, and monasteries. In England many cottages had also appeared on or near the cultivated lands. In all European countries the peasants worked from about five o'clock in the morning till after sunset. Their little cottages were very poorly lighted and ventilated; the floors were simply patches of hard dirt; glass windows were scarce. Strange though it may seem, the farmers of the eighteenth century did not realize how great were their hardships, for after all, comforts and hardships have only relative values. For one thing the people in the country knew almost nothing about the world beyond their small community of approximately twenty square miles. They had been taught that they were meant to till the soil, while the privileged classes were destined for lives of ease and luxury. No radical reformers disturbed them with argu

ments for social equality; the few newspapers had a limited circulation because most people could not read.

The English farmers were relatively prosperous. Not only had serfdom completely disappeared in England but feudal dues and forced labor, such as repairing roads without pay, belonged to the past. Taxes weighed less heavily on English farmers than on most of the peasants across the Channel. With the rapid development of commerce and industry, the demand for farm products naturally increased. Furthermore, the government enforced a number of so-called "corn-laws," which protected the farmers against very low prices on "corn," as grains were called in England. Exports of grain were encouraged by bounties, while import duties were high. Importation of cattle was prohibited, and farming in England was so greatly improved that during the eighteenth century this country was able to supply its own grain. Thanks to the efforts of Lord Townshend (1674–1738), the English farmers began to give up the practice of fallowing. Townshend showed his countrymen how to drain swamps, how to fertilize sandy soil with marl, and how to raise clover and turnips. Bakewell was instrumental in improving the quality of English sheep.

It has been estimated that at the opening of the eighteenth century, one quarter of England was enclosed by fences or hedges; one third in open, cultivated fields, meadows, and pastures; and the remainder in woodlands, wastes, and swamps. One disadvantage of the open field system had been the difficulty of breeding better stock. Many a capable farmer was chagrined to see his superior cattle feeding on the pasture common with the diseased cattle of some of his neighbors. Crops were often destroyed by cattle or by game hunted by noblemen and pursued into the fields. During the eighteenth century the "enclosures" increased by leaps and bounds. Whereas during the period between 1700 and 1770 only 340,000 acres were enclosed, the English proprietors fenced in more than 6,350,000 acres during the following fifty years. It so happened that the

progressive proprietors of land earned handsome profits by using more modern methods. They naturally acquired more land, enclosed their new holdings, kept on making more and more money, until they forced the shiftless farmers to sell their land because competition had become too keen. Thousands of yeomen, or freemen, moved from the country to the new centers of industry. The enclosure movement, together with the social changes which accompanied it, are sometimes named the Agricultural Revolution.

In France conditions were somewhat different. Serfdom still survived in some of the northern and eastern provinces. Out of a total population of 25,000,000, there were about 1,000,000 serfs and 19,000,000 free peasants. The latter were at liberty to move where they pleased; they could sell their property and buy other land. It is worth noting that one half of all the land belonged to the independent farmers who worked on their own land, while in England this class of farmers was rapidly disappearing. Compared with the average American farmer, however, the French peasant of the eighteenth century was only partly independent. Feudalism was still so strongly intrenched in France that the peasants were constantly being molested by the noblemen, who were unwilling to perform manual labor themselves, and consequently endeavored to make the humble peasants do it for them. Roads were repaired by the latter, though the nobles obliged them to pay toll when the peasants made use of them afterwards; and the fields cultivated by the "independent farmers" could be traversed with impunity by the nobles when hunting.

In most of the continental countries the peasants were taxed very heavily by the government and by the Church. To the latter institution they still had to pay the tithe, or a tenth of their annual income, but in practice the amount paid was somewhere between six and eight per cent. East of France the lot of the peasants was worse than that in England, France, and Holland; and the further east one went, the worse were conditions

in rural communities. Serfdom, as was said above, still flourished in central and eastern Europe. Here conditions among the peasants were indescribable. The filth inside of their little huts, the leaky roofs, the windowless walls, the lack of proper food and fuel and clothing,—these and a hundred attendant evils rendered the lives of the wretched serfs so burdensome that one may well ask how they could have kept up such a dreary existence. Is it any wonder that when the French Revolution broke out, the downtrodden peasants of continental Europe expected some gain from the overthrow of the "Old Régime"?

Religious Conditions

Since the middle of the sixteenth century religious and ecclesiastical conditions in Europe had undergone comparatively little change. In all the European countries the Christian faith remained the leading religion, for even in the Balkan Peninsula, which was still a part of the Ottoman Empire, the natives clung to the faith of their ancestors. Scattered throughout Europe lived the Jews, while the Ottoman Turks professed the Mohammedan religion. The Jews lived mostly in the cities, where they had "quarters" of their own. Although they could not participate in many of the social customs of the time, were obliged to live in carefully restricted areas, and could not enter a considerable number of the trades and professions, nevertheless they were no longer persecuted so fanatically as had been the case in the Middle Ages. Whereas the English government, for example, had expelled the Jews from the country at one time, in the eighteenth century the Jews were very liberally treated by the English people. At the close of the century synagogues were found in nearly all of the larger cities of western Europe, and eventually the Jews identified their patriotic instincts and interests with those of the people among whom they were living in peace.

The three main groups of Christians in Europe were still the

Roman Catholics; the Greek, or Orthodox Catholics; and the Protestants. The ratio between these three groups remained practically the same as at the end of the sixteenth century, while the territorial divisions also were unchanged. In Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, the southern Netherlands, Ireland, western and southern Germany, Poland, and Austria the vast majority of the inhabitants were Roman Catholics; in Russia and the Balkan Peninsula lived the Greek Catholics; while the Protestants predominated in northern Germany, Scandinavia, Holland, England, Wales, and Scotland.

The Roman Catholic Church as well as the Orthodox Church had undergone very slight transformations since the age of the Reformation. Attempts had been made in the fifteenth century to bring about a union between these two great denominations, but these efforts had failed. In western Russia and eastern Poland, however, flourished the Uniates, a branch of the Roman Catholic Church, whose members recognized the pope as head of their church, but were permitted to retain the ritual of the Orthodox Church, while their clergy were allowed to marry.

Although the papal power had declined in all countries, primarily because of the rise of nationalistic aspirations, the pope still exercised enormous powers. In the larger Catholic countries he had lost the right to appoint to office members of the higher clergy, such as bishops and abbots; but he continued to maintain a great court at Rome, sent his nuncios, or legates, to the various royal courts, received from Catholics the "Peter's Pence," besides the tithe, and remained to all intents and purposes exactly the same sort of a head of the Church in the eyes of millions of Catholics as he had ever seemed before. The lower clergy were now being tried in royal courts of justice, instead of church courts; the higher clergy had lost much political power; nevertheless the Church still owned one fourth of the land in Catholic countries and controlled the schools; it maintained many of the finest hospitals

and asylums in Europe and through the sacrament of marriage enforced the old rule that without its consent no marriage was legal. The Jesuits continued to labor in behalf of the maintenance of papal supremacy, but shortly after the year 1750 they began to abuse the powers entrusted to them. They meddled in political affairs, enraged royal officials, and became so obnoxious that in 1773 the pope suppressed the whole order. Until the end of the revolutionary era, in 1814, the papal edict was enforced, except in Russia, where Catherine II and her successor permitted the Jesuits to keep their organization intact.

Another instrument of papal power had been the Inquisition. The Spanish kings still sought to suppress heresy, as Ferdinand of Aragon and Philip II had done; during the first half of the eighteenth century hundreds of heretics were condemned to die at the stake, but after 1750 religious fanaticism began to abate in Spain. The same phenomenon occurred almost everywhere in Europe. During the seventeenth century complete religious toleration existed in not a single European country. The most liberal policy had probably been followed by the Dutch government, while France had led Europe before the revocation of Nantes (1685); after the year 1685, however, the French government was one of the most intolerant in western Europe. Protestants were outlawed, their children were deemed illegitimate, most of the professions and trades were closed to them, and a life of galley service for men and imprisonment for women was threatened to Protestants who worshiped outside of Catholic Churches. Although the laws against the Protestants were not always enforced, notorious instances of fanaticism occurred even after 1750, such as the case of John Calas, in Toulouse, who was tortured and executed because his Catholic neighbors suspected him of having murdered his son who intended to join the Catholic Church (1762). In 1766 Chevalier de la Barre, a nobleman, was executed for having insulted a religious procession.

The Protestants were scarcely more tolerant than the Catholics. In Great Britain the Anglican Church remained the state church, except in Scotland, where the Presbyterian Church was established; and it continued to levy tithes on all inhabitants, regardless of their faith. Only Anglicans could attend the University of Cambridge, or secure a degree at Oxford. Only Anglican clergymen could legally perform the marriage ceremony and register births and deaths. The Irish Catholics were subjected to an extremely humiliating treatment, as was indicated in Chapter VII. At the close of the eighteenth century, however, the laws passed against the Roman Catholics were no longer strictly enforced. Gradually the press in England became free, while the French government was enlightened enough not to suppress more than a very limited number of books and newspapers. In Prussia all religions received equal recognition, while in many other countries the enlightened despots, influenced by the principles of the great philosophers, began to make it a part of their policies to grant religious freedom to all of their subjects.

Among the Protestant denominations which had originated since the close of the sixteenth century, the Methodist Episcopal Church was the most important. At first the term Methodist was employed merely as a nickname by students at the University of Oxford who laughingly referred to a small group of fellow-students as Methodists, because the latter had become so methodical in swearing off all frivolity and trying to cultivate piety. The leader of this little group was the celebrated John Wesley (1703–1791), a man of extraordinary ability as a preacher. His energy and ambition were such that he preached the staggering total of nearly 40,000 sermons, the equivalent of three sermons every day in the year for a period of thirty-five years. He also visited prisons, hospitals, and asylums, was instrumental in healing many physical ailments through prayer, and helped to transform the lives of thousands of working-

men. Wesley was a member of the Anglican church, but he and his followers, when they discovered how little impression their appeals made on the clergy of their church, decided to secede and form a church of their own. In this respect their experiences resembled those of the Puritans who grew weary of preaching reform to unrelenting Anglicans and finally joined the ranks of the Independents, that is, the Baptists, Congregationalists, and the Quakers; or else they affiliated themselves with the Presbyterians, who were not called Independents, but did belong to the "Dissenters."

The two leading characteristics of religious conditions in the eighteenth century were the spread of toleration and the growth of skepticism. Already in the seventeenth century a group of doubters had appeared in England who refused to accept the doctrine of the Trinity. Their contention was that God the Father was the only member of the Trinity who was divine, and that Jesus of Nazareth was no more than a human being. They founded a separate denomination, called the Unitarian church, because they were Unitarians, not Trinitarians. The founder of this church was a scientist, named Joseph Priestley, who tried to explain to his countrymen that neither Jesus of Nazareth nor the Holy Spirit ranked with God.

In a certain sense all the Protestants were skeptics, for they rejected a number of beliefs which they had come to regard as superstitious. As a rule, however, the name skeptic is applied only to those members of the Christian churches who denied the divinity of Jesus and refused to accept him as their personal savior. Skepticism developed rapidly after the year 1700. First a group of English scientists and philosophers began to attack those doctrines which in our time are called fundamentalism. The miracles recorded in the Bible, particularly the virgin birth of Jesus, his resurrection and ascension, and also the events narrated in the Book of Genesis were subjected to serious criticism. The Bible, said those scholars, was not an infallible

source of information, and the theology of the great Christian churches contained many errors. It was positively harmful to subscribe to the doctrine of sin and atonement, while science discredited, so they argued, the veracity of the miraculous deeds performed by the Jewish prophets of old. Nature alone was trustworthy. God had created the world and had established the laws of nature, which governed the earth and the planets, as well as all animate things.

The men who argued thus were called Deists, and their beliefs, Deism.[1] The new system of thought, then, defined a different relationship between God and the world. It was opposed to the theory of the immanence of God, for the Deists alleged that ever since the creation of the world God has paid no attention to anything that happens here on earth. They said it was entirely useless to pray for anything, since one could not expect God to upset the laws he had formulated for nature. They did not explain just what these laws were, however, and, as they had rejected the Bible as a trustworthy source, they left people in the dark as to what they should believe. Their contribution was largely of a negative nature; they made it perfectly clear what people should not believe, but failed to produce a new theology to supplant the old. But the result of their teachings was great. They destroyed in the minds of thousands of educated people the reverence for the Church and its officials. Although they did not preach the doctrine of evolution, they prepared the way for what is now called modernism, and incidentally they caused widespread indifference to religion. Much of the respect for the higher clergy was destroyed when the authority of the Church was questioned. The first estate came to be regarded as being on a level with the second estate, and both were looked upon with envy and hatred by influential philosophers who predicted that the end of the "Old Régime" was at hand.

[1] Both terms were derived from the Latin word *Deus*, which means God.

Art and Science

In the seventeenth century the greatest school of painters in Europe was found in Holland, where Rembrandt, Ruysdael, and Hobbema were depicting mostly scenes from everyday life, in contrast with the custom of many medieval artists who had painted imaginary scenes of a religious nature. Velasquez and Murillo, the two great Spanish painters, also produced some very fine specimens of art, while Rubens, the Flemish artist, was notable for his portraits of princely ladies. In the eighteenth century neither painting nor sculpture rose to any great heights. At this time French and English artists were setting the standards for European artists. Hogarth, Gainsborough, Reynolds, Watteau, and David were considered the greatest masters in painting, while Canova, an Italian, was the leading sculptor of the century. In architecture the models of ancient Greece and Rome were copied freely. Outstanding examples of this "Neo-classic art" were the Royal Exchange and Bank of England in London and the new church of Francesco di Paoli in Naples. Many art galleries were founded in the eighteenth century, and some of the more famous museums also originated in this period.

Upon the whole one may say that art in the eighteenth century, influenced as it was by the peculiar manners of the time, failed to reach the level attained by the Italian school of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. European art reflected the spirit of elegance and supercilious indifference to supreme devotion in religion, in the home, and in society, so characteristic of the privileged classes, which still were the chief patrons of art. The furniture, for example, was very dainty and elegant; paintings and sculpture conformed to the refined tastes of bishops and noblemen, who were too indolent and too vain to inspire artists with a desire for originality. The arts of Greece

and Rome furnished the models for eighteenth century art. They were embellished with the elegance and refinement of the court at Versailles, which had been exalted in the reign of Louis XIV to a position where other courts could imitate rather than emulate. Until the outbreak of the Revolution, Versailles continued to set the standards in etiquette and dress. It threw a blight on the creative art of genius, but made mediocre productions seem well-nigh perfect.

The literature of the period likewise reflected the spirit of the time. Both in prose writings and in poetry the classic models were carefully imitated, and individuality as well as originality were suppressed to a considerable extent. Convention dictated the literary form of prose and poetry, as may be seen in the writings of English authors who flourished in the eighteenth century. The most famous essayists in Great Britain were Addison and Steele, whose *Tatler* (1709) and *Spectator* (1711) contain valuable records of political and social conditions in England during the early decades of the eighteenth century. Another striking literary figure was Samuel Johnson (1709–1784), commonly known as Dr. Johnson, the author of the famous *Dictionary,* the influential literary critic, and the celebrated hero of Boswell's delightful biography. The eighteenth century also marked the rise of the English novel. In the field of poetry, Alexander Pope, author of the *Essay on Man,* was the unquestioned leader, who "voiced the spirit of the age, its love of polished satire, its proneness for moral reflections, and its regard for external elegancies and artificial social conventions, together with its lack of imagination and imperfect appreciation of nature."

The scientists on the other hand lived in a world apart from court life and constructed theories independently of social custom and convention. Defying the authority of the Church and the power of convention, they began to blaze the way for a new system of thought which radically differed from the beliefs of medieval scientists, as well as from those of the

people generally. It mattered not at all to the scientists what public opinion had to say on anything connected with nature and natural laws. They felt no great reverence for the views of Aristotle, or Thomas Aquinas, or any other scientist whose theories could not be proved by experimentation. Beginning with Francis Bacon and Descartes, the scientists of modern Europe boldly questioned the doctrines of the Church and decided to break down the shackles with which authority had for centuries chained the thoughts of man.

One of the greatest scientists of all time was Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727), who had become professor of mathematics at Cambridge when he was but twenty-three years old. He constructed a telescope with which he carefully watched the course of the planets and the stars. He observed that the heavenly bodies followed with great precision and regularity a certain path apparently marked out for them by some mysterious force. He hit upon the idea that the stars were mutually attracted to each other and so were held to their course. Just as a falling apple was bound by the inexorable law of gravitation to adopt a certain speed and to reach a certain spot at a certain moment, which one could calculate in advance, so the planets were controlled by universal gravitation. Newton finally devised a mathematical formula which enabled astronomers to foretell the exact moment when eclipses of the moon and the sun could be seen, and to calculate the course of comets and all other visible heavenly bodies.

Other great scientists were Leibnitz, a German scholar, who invented the calculus;[1] Leeuwenhoek, a Dutchman, who first saw the protozoa; Boerhaave, a Dutch physician, who founded organic chemistry; Franklin, who showed that lightning is simply a display of electricity; Galvani and Volta, two celebrated Italian physicists; Cavendish, Rutherford, and Priestley, three English chemists, who discovered, respectively, hydrogen, nitrogen, and oxygen. Perhaps the greatest chemist of the eight-

[1] Newton claims the same distinction,

eenth century was the Frenchman, Lavoisier (1743–1794); to him we owe much of our chemical terminology and the science of quantitative chemistry. Buffon of France and Linnæus of Sweden were outstanding biologists; the latter is said to have founded the science of botany, while the former made great contributions to zoölogy. In the field of medicine John Hunter of Scotland made notable experiments, while Haller, a Swiss professor, is often named "the father of modern physiology." The most famous explorer of the period was undoubtedly Captain James Cook, who rediscovered Australia.

These distinguished scientists belong to the great benefactors of the human race. They were fortunate to live in an age when their services were beginning to be appreciated. Whereas Galileo had been compelled by the Roman Inquisition to deny the Copernican theory of the rotation of the earth (1615) and to stop teaching it; whereas Galileo was tried again in 1633 and remained in prison for nine years until his death; the scientists of the eighteenth century no longer had to fear the dreaded Inquisition. Instead of that they were frequently subsidized by their respective governments. Pensions were granted by kings; civil offices were offered by parliament in England; presents were bestowed by princes in Germany; great observatories were built at public expense in several countries. It became an honor to be regarded as a leading scientist. As early as the year 1662 the Royal Society of England was founded, while in 1674 the observatory at Greenwich was built. At Paris an observatory was constructed in 1667, and in 1666 the French Academy of Sciences received official recognition from Colbert. The Prussian Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin dated from the year 1699.

Science was at last coming into its own. It became fashionable to promote the cause of science. People would buy microscopes and show their friends how queer a fly would look under the lens. They got hold of crude instruments with which to illustrate various elementary laws of physics and chemistry to

the delight and astonishment of the spectators. No longer did the doctrine of justification by faith and that of predestination cause the heated discussions called forth in the sixteenth century by the Reformation. The observation of nature began to supplant the study of theology. The scientist took the place of the theologian in attracting attention in current periodicals and newspapers. Innumerable books were issued for popular consumption, telling about the strange animals that lived in Asia and America, the wonders of the firmament, the mysteries of plant life, the beauties of mountain scenery, the intricacies of mathematics, the value of chemistry and physics, the progress of medicine, and the joy of living in the present rather than thinking constantly about the life which lay beyond the portals of death.

The Era of Enlightenment

During the whole of the medieval period and even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the theory had almost universally prevailed in Europe that man is sinful and society corrupt, that in this world both humans and animals are hopelessly entangled in depravity. The idea that progress was possible never occurred to the average mind. Poverty, crime, pain, misery, and disease could never be alleviated, so reasoned the preachers, and so believed even well-educated laymen. Although it was generally known that the privileged classes no longer deserved their special rights and that absolutism was not the proper form of government, nor intolerance and cruel torture the right solution of religious dissension and the violation of law and order, nevertheless no remedy seemed possible to the suppressed peoples of Europe. During the eighteenth century, however, a group of distinguished writers proceeded to show how society might be reformed, crime lessened, illness checked, poverty decreased, torture abolished, governments improved, and superstition extinguished.

As early as the latter half of the seventeenth century John Locke (1652–1704), the celebrated English philosopher, had advocated religious toleration, representative government, and popularized education. Among the works Locke wrote were the *Treatises on Government* and the *Letters on Toleration.* The author explained how before the rise of civilization men were all free and equal, knowing no superiors socially or politically. When civil society displaced natural society, the people, so Locke reasoned, made a compact with their ruler in order to safeguard individual rights. In this compact the ruler promised to protect his subjects, while the latter agreed to observe the laws decreed by the ruler. The three functions of the government which according to Locke ought to be separated were the executive, legislative, and federative, the latter function implying the foreign policies of national governments. The legislative branch of the government, argued Locke, was the most important, and whenever the government failed to keep the terms of the compact, the subjects were justified in starting a revolution. Locke had many followers in Great Britain, and on the Continent the philosophers perpetuated his political views until the time of the French Revolution.

One of Locke's admirers beyond the Channel was Montesquieu, a French philosopher (1689–1755). In 1721 he published his *Persian Letters,* which satirized social conditions in France. "The king of France," wrote Montesquieu, "is the most powerful prince in Europe. He draws his wealth from the vanity of his subjects, more inexhaustible than mines. He has been known to undertake and carry on great wars with no other resources than titles of honor to sell; and by a prodigy of human pride, his troops were paid, his forts furnished, his fleets equipped." Concerning the papal power he made the following statement: "The pope is the chief of the Christians. He is an old idol, to which people burn incense from the force of habit. In old times he was formidable even to princes, for he deposed them." Montesquieu published his book anonymously

but the authorship was never in doubt. In 1726 he resigned his position in the *Parlement* of Bordeaux and traveled for three years. Among the countries he visited was England, about which he wrote: "England is at present the most free country in the world; I do not except any republic; I call it free because the prince can do no conceivable harm to anybody, because his power is controlled and limited by law."

In 1748 Montesquieu published his *Spirit of the Laws,* one of the most important books written anywhere in the eighteenth century. A quotation will show the trend of his views: "Law in general is human reason, in so far as it governs all the nations of the earth; and the political and civil laws of each nation should be but the particular cases to which that human reason is applied." The author recognized four kinds of government, democratic, aristocratic, monarchial, and despotic. Although he admitted that the republican form of government was the most desirable in theory, he reasoned that for his country and time the monarchy was more suitable. Unlike Locke, he desired to distinguish the following separate branches of the government, executive, legislative, and judicial. Montesquieu is known for his theory of "checks and balances." In his opinion the three branches of the government should check and balance each other, so that none of the three could exercise too much power. *The Spirit of the Laws* exerted great influence in North America, where Locke was known and where the English colonists eagerly studied the idea of division of power in the government. Montesquieu also attracted much attention by his attack on slavery and on the criminal procedure of the courts of his time.

Most influential of all the French philosophers, however, was Voltaire (1694–1778), whose real name was François Marie Arouet. He was born in Paris of parents who belonged to the middle class. From 1704–1711 he attended a Jesuit school near his home in Paris, which was probably the best secondary school in France, corresponding to Eton in England. At an

early age he was introduced by an *abbé* to a club whose mem bers were gay and carefree libertines. The president of th club was also one of those numerous cynics who enjoyed th income of a sinecure and scoffed at religion although the owed the Church their living. In this club the little Franci learned a great deal about abuses existing in the Church, an afterwards he was able to make abundant use of the knowledg he had gained early in life. He was witty and clever, vain an selfish.

In 1725 Voltaire had a quarrel with a nephew of Cardina Rohan, which resulted in imprisonment in the Bastile, a priso where many political offenders were confined by the goverr ment. In the following year Voltaire was released under ser tence of exile and went to England. During the two years c residence in England he read Newton, Locke, Shakespear Milton, Dryden, Swift, and Pope. He was greatly impresse with the freedom of speech and press in that country and wa strongly influenced by the English philosophers. "Despotism, argued he, "is the abuse of royalty, as anarchy is of republic That government would be worthy of Hottentots in which certain number of men were allowed to say, 'It is for those tha work to pay; we owe nothing, because we do nothing.'" H obviously referred to the privileges enjoyed in his native cou try by the nobility and the higher clergy. In England he als made a careful study of the various churches existing ther He felt most sympathetic toward the Quakers, because of the modesty and freedom from empty formalism. Nevertheles even the Quakers he criticized severely.

In 1733 Voltaire published his *Letters on the English,* whic was condemned to be burned by the French government, b cause the author not only attacked the privileged classes, b nearly every tenet of dogmatic Christianity. It was in th book that he denied the immortality of the soul. In 1734 h fled to Basel and a little later found refuge in a castle near th eastern frontier, where he resided till the death of the lady wh

owned the castle (1749). The following year Frederick the Great invited him to his palace at Potsdam, near Berlin. In 1751 appeared at Berlin the first edition of *The Century of Louis XIV*, which was sold out in a few days. Voltaire became quickly bored by the poor verses of Frederick II, and there were several other reasons why he was glad to leave Prussia in 1753. Shortly after his return he settled down in Ferney near Geneva, where he lived in comparative seclusion for about twenty years.

His last visit to Paris occurred in 1778. It was, says one biographer, "the last great commotion in Paris under the old régime. Salons worshipped him, philosophers kissed the hem of the garment of the author who wrote *The Philosophical Dictionary*. The Academy fell at the feet of him who had attempted every form of literature and failed in none. Drama welcomed the most famous playwright since Corneille and Racine. The *bourgeois* left the shops and stood in crowds to see him who was himself of their order and had written for its rights. The Protestants came to worship him who had preached tolerance. The *canaille,* the fierce, hungy-eyed, downtrodden were among the crowd to see him who had pleaded against a criminal code. The Court and the Church paid him the higher compliment of fearing him."

Voltaire was unquestionably the greatest literary figure of the eighteenth century. His influence was felt in all European countries. His great achievement was the way in which he assimilated, interpreted, and expressed the thoughts of others. Bacon, Locke, and Newton never exercised so much influence as when Voltaire popularized their views. However, he differed from Locke in that he attacked dogmatic Christianity, while the English philosopher regarded Christ as his personal savior and merely regretted that "the Scriptures were obscured by pedantic philosophers." Voltaire ridiculed all that was held sacred. The old religion he called the Infamous. He wrote his works anonymously and denied their authorship when ques-

tioned. One of his plays was scandalous, indecent, and coarse. Virtue meant nothing to Voltaire. Having completely discarded the authority of the Bible and of Christianity, he could offer no substitute but human reason. He was a rationalist, for to him the human *ratio,* or reason, was the only reliable source of truth. He went too far in denying nearly all the tenets of the Christian churches. He and many other French philosophers of his time, in attacking the corruption prevailing in church and state, ignored many of the good qualities still found in both institutions.

Voltaire's contributions were largely of a negative nature. He realized perfectly what was wrong with the government and the higher clergy, and did much good in exposing the abuses. He advocated the reduction of armies, the abolition of feudal privileges and of serfdom, individual freedom, popularized education, the abolition of torture and all unjust punishments, limited monarchy, and a reformation of the Roman Catholic Church.

Another French philosopher who exerted great influence in many European countries was Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778). Little is known about his early life, but he seems to have been brought up in Geneva under the care of a minister and a dissipated father. In 1728 he ran away from home and started on a course of wanderings, during which he tried his hand at half a dozen occupations, only to fail in every one of them. His whole life in fact was a failure, if one is to except his writings. Unlike Voltaire, who accumulated a fortune, he was always poor and discontented. He was grossly immoral, dishonest, and finally became demented. His children were all sent to a foundling home. Although he could tell others how to live their lives, his own was a very bad example. He harped on the theme expressed in the Beatitudes of Jesus of Nazareth, "to love God above all things, and your neighbor as yourself, is the sum of the law"; but he certainly did not act as if he meant to carry out this principle.

It is a curious fact that this man should have had so much wholesome influence. In 1749 he wrote his *Discourse on Arts and Sciences,* in which he warned his readers against the worship of human reason and the bad effect of civilization. He placed emotions far above reason, asserting that philosophers like Voltaire were even more dogmatic than the priests, for they, in failing to develop their feelings, had become unbalanced. Let us return to nature, argued Rousseau, and imitate the lives of the early savages, who were all free and equal, while in our time a few unscrupulous and greedy individuals make slaves of all their countrymen. In primitive times, continued Rousseau, men knew nothing about obedience to others and were better morally than today. Civilization with all its attendant corruption began when men sought private property of their own. Man is inherently good, but civilization has made him a criminal. Rousseau portrayed conditions about which he knew absolutely nothing, and which in all probability never existed. Nevertheless his *Discourse* met with much approbation, for the hypocrisy and artifices of many refined and most elegant classes of people were deeply resented by educated Frenchmen. The writer also alleged that learning was harmful, since it tended to deaden the finer feelings of human nature.

In 1753 appeared an essay entitled, *What is the Origin of Inequality among Men,* which extolled the virtues of the simple savages, and deplored the terrible evils resulting from the acquisition of private property. Although Rousseau may be termed a Deist, he did not favor the view that God was no longer to be found in nature. He used to gaze with rapture at the glorious sunsets, the gorgeous mountain scenery, and the starry firmament. He bitterly condemned the cold-hearted rationalists. In a few years it became fashionable for men and women of various ranks to commune with nature, and it was considered a mark of high intelligence if one could drench one's vest with tears as he beheld the moon in all its mystical beauty.

Far more influential, however, was the *Social Contract* (1761). Although this work contained scarcely any new theories on government, the presentation was such that Locke's view on the origin of the social compact between ruler and people received much more attention than had formerly been the case. "All men are born free," said Rousseau, " but everywhere they are in chains." By the year 1761 he had considerably modified his views on the superiority of primitive society. He now granted that sinful man needed some form of government in which the will of the people should be the supreme law of the land. Rousseau did not make it clear how authority could be reconciled with individual liberty, but his glowing tribute to democracy won many adherents who later were to direct the course of the French Revolution. Rousseau had great faith in the common people, who may be misled, he asserted, but are always righteous. In other words, the abuses in state and church were in his opinion entirely the result of the errors committed by rulers and officials.

In the field of education Rousseau also made great contributions. His *Émile* tells the story of a boy who was taught to "trust to nature," and was guided by a tutor. This tutor was held up as a model for all educators, who were advised to let children follow largely their own inclinations in their work at school. The primary duty of the teacher should be to arouse the pupil's interest. Children should be taught "what they must do when they are men, and not what they must forget." The study of Latin and Greek was considered a pure waste of time. Both the *Social Contract* and the novel, *Émile,* exercised far-reaching influence. Little did it matter to the average reader what the author did in his own home or among his friends. His personality was lost in his literary productions. The cry of "Back to nature," and the doctrine of "popular sovereignty" spread like wild-fire throughout France and later was carried across the ocean and beyond the Alps and the Rhine. Rousseau seems to have struck a note for which thou-

sands of people had unconsciously waited, and in the enthusiasm of the moment the pernicious teachings and the delusions of the author were largely ignored. So it happened that a man who was an unfaithful husband, a neglectful parent, a vicious, deceitful character, contrived to instil some high ideals into the hearts of many prominent men and women of his time.

Important also was the work of Diderot and his associates, who edited the famous *Encyclopedia,* a work of seventeen volumes of text and eleven volumes of plates. The work was completed in 1765, after publication had twice been suspended by the government. A large number of philosophers and scientists contributed articles. Diderot had been disinherited by his father because of his great indolence, and for a time he barely existed; but finally he overcame financial difficulties and secured the services of Voltaire, Rousseau, and many other prominent writers. The purpose of the *Encyclopedia* was to present all the known facts in science and to propagate the ideas of the philosophers. The whole set was beautifully bound and illustrated, and before its appearance in 1765 more than four thousand subscribers had agreed to purchase copies. The idea of reform had now become so fashionable that the very classes whom the *Encyclopedia* attacked supported its publication. When the government had condemned the book as an attack on church and state, various nobles convinced the king that its publication should be permitted, inasmuch as "it was a step in progress."

While the French philosophers were engaged in recommending reform in the central government, in the church, and in society, an Italian nobleman, named Beccaria (1735–1795) singled out one field for special study and in his celebrated *Crimes and Punishments* advocated the abolition of cruel punishments and of the death penalty. He proposed a concise and just criminal code which would swiftly mete out the requisite punishment to criminals and so prevent crimes more effectually than the brutal and cumbersome criminal procedure used in most European countries of his time. He tried to explain how

ridiculous and barbarous a custom it was to hang a man for having stolen the equivalent of one dollar, as was the case in England, if the criminal code of that country were strictly applied. Beccaria also took pains to explain the harmful effect of public executions, where the public took strange delight in seeing a man tortured until he expired in unspeakable agony. Beccaria's views spread rather slowly at first, and they were not fully appreciated till the twentieth century. However, many reforms resulted from this book before the middle of the nineteenth century.

Before long the influence of the enlightened philosophers began to extend also to the field of political economy. The question naturally arose, Is it reasonable to foster the growth of industry and commerce by artificial means, as has been done under the system of mercantilism; and are industry and commerce really the only true sources of wealth? Under the leadership of a French physician, named Quesnay, a group of philosophers tried to seek a proper answer to this question. They reasoned that governments should interfere no more than was absolutely necessary in the development of agriculture, industry, and commerce. Just as in education a child should be allowed freely to express its individuality, so in the sphere of economics, nature could be relied on to work out its own salvation. The motto of these philosophers became *"Laissez-faire,"* or "Let them alone," signifying that the natural laws of supply and demand would regulate commercial and industrial affairs far more effectively than would the interference of governments. Quesnay and his followers were called Economists, or Physiocrats. Turgot, the first minister of finance in the reign of Louis XVI (1774–1776) attempted to put their theory into practice, but largely because of the opposition encountered by him at the king's court, his plans materialized only in a small degree. The Physiocrats were of the opinion that land alone was the true source of wealth, wherefore nothing but land should be taxed. They recommended the abolition of all the internal cus-

toms duties in various countries, and particularly through their emphasis on "free trade" they did much to destroy mercantilism.

Probably the most effective weapon employed against mercantilism was a book written by Adam Smith, entitled *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). Smith is called the "father of political economy," because he proposed a definite and plausible substitute for the old order of things. He was a professor of philosophy in the University of Glasgow and had visited France, where he was influenced considerably by the theories of Quesnay. So he repeated the maxims of the Physiocrats, advocating free trade. The invisible hand of nature, argued Smith, would render all business transactions just and equitable, as long as nature was left untrammeled. He did not add, for he apparently did not know it, that avaricious and unscrupulous business men might exult in their new freedom and crush the workingmen. However, his theories were propounded so ably and contained so much common sense that during the first half of the nineteenth century they were applied by many of the European governments.

Eighteenth Century Governments

The spirit of reform also entered the courts of the monarchs. Rulers like Frederick II of Prussia and Catherine II of Russia, whose careers were outlined in chapters VIII and IX, found it to their advantage to play the part of benevolent despots, combining autocratic power with benevolence toward their subjects. Some of the monarchs actually made a serious attempt to place the welfare of the people above their own personal interests. Then there was a group of rulers who may not properly be styled enlightened despots but whose governments were nevertheless greatly affected by the teachings of the philosophers. In short, all of the European rulers at the end of the eighteenth century felt the effect of the change going on in the intellectual world. Some welcomed this change; others

strove to check or even prevent it. But regardless of their attitude, the change went on, blazing the way for a new era in European society.

The king of Great Britain was one of those rulers who set themselves against reforms advocated by the philosophers. Compared with the monarchs on the Continent, his power had greatly declined and George III (1760–1820), instead of encouraging the further encroachment on royal prerogative by Parliament, resolutely endeavored to regain at least a part of the prestige lost by the crown since the Puritan Revolution. During the first fifteen years of his reign he was partly successful, but when the colonies in America defied him, he lost considerable prestige in his own country, so that after the year 1780 he failed in his attempt to become a despot, although for many years he continued to cherish the hope of suppressing parliamentary government. When he was a boy, his mother used to say to him, "Be a King!" His mother's most intimate adviser, the earl of Bute, constantly harped on the same theme. Hence it is not surprising that, notwithstanding the influence of the great philosophers of his time, George III flatly refused to reform representative government and made serious attempts to deprive his subjects of personal liberties granted in previous reigns.

It must not be imagined that England was lacking in "reformers." There was James Wilkes, for example, whose immorality was notorious but whose eloquent appeal for popular liberty made a profound impression on the people of London, where he was elected Lord Mayor. Another reformer was Charles James Fox, who resembled Rousseau in being in constant poverty and an easy prey to the demon of vice. In contrast with the career of Rousseau, however, the influence exercised by Fox permeated only a limited class of people, for it was perfectly obvious to most prominent citizens that Fox's teachings did not harmonize with his own deeds. Far more successful in politics was William Pitt the Younger (1759–

1806), the son of the great earl of Chatham. His sterling qualities commended him and his work to the vast majority of the British people, and he was prime minister from 1783 to 1801. Parliamentary reform became the topic of the day. The press was to be completely freed, the slave trade abolished, the poor relieved, and individual liberty safeguarded. It seemed as if Great Britain was to become the center of social and political reform, besides being the home of the Industrial Revolution. But when in 1789 revolution broke out in France, accompanied with many manifestations of what seemed extreme radicalism to Pitt and other prominent British statesmen, the latter took alarm and suddenly became opponents of further reform. Although men like Wilkes and Fox kept on clamoring for reform, they received very little moral support. The British distrusted them and agreed to sacrifice a few individual rights in order that anarchy and bloodshed and social upheaval might be prevented.

Besides George III of Great Britain, Frederick II of Prussia (1740–1786), and Catherine II of Russia (1762–1796), there were at least two rulers whose policies were of great importance. These were the king of France [1] and the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The latter, as archduke of Austria, king of Hungary, and ruler of many other dominions, still wielded great political power. In 1765 the imperial title had been conferred upon Joseph II, the son of Maria Theresa (1740–1780), who in the year of her death bequeathed to him the scattered territories still retained by the house of Habsburg.

Joseph II was a typical benevolent despot. He asserted that he had made philosophy the legislator of his empire and that its principles were going to transform Austria. Having read Rousseau, the Austrian ruler decided to carry out the social and political reforms advocated by the French Philosophers, with the exception, naturally, of introducing democracy. Joseph II

[1] A detailed description of French society and political institutions will be given in the following chapter.

never surmised that Rousseau had relied altogether too much on his imagination when he depicted the ideal state of society. Assuming that the lives of all his subjects would be plastic in the hands of a benevolent ruler, Joseph proceeded to inaugurate wholesale transformations of customs and institutions. He confiscated church lands, and removed altars and paintings from the churches, thereby hoping to free his people respectively from ecclesiastical subjugation and superstition. Religious toleration was to be granted to all of his subjects; furthermore, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews were declared equal before the law and entitled to equal rights. Serfdom should be abolished at once, reasoned the emperor; nobles and peasants should all pay a tax of 13 per cent on their land. Elementary education should be free for all classes of people, regardless of religious affiliation or social rank.

Benevolent though he was, Joseph II determined to be a real despot. Local self-government in the Austrian Netherlands, Hungary, and that part of northern Italy controlled by Austria and called Lombardy, was suppressed with the stroke of the imperial pen. The official language of all the scattered dominions under his rule was to be German and the army patterned after the Prussian model. He proposed to exchange the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria, in order to make out of his scattered territories a more compact state, caring little whether the inhabitants of the respective districts would be pleased with the exchange or not. He knew what was beneficial for them and he was going to provide for all their needs.

Great was his surprise when the pious Catholics expressed resentment at his religious policies, when the serfs misunderstood his good intentions, when the people in the Netherlands and Hungary refused to give up their provincial assemblies, when the nobles declined to lose their special privileges, when the middle class repudiated his plans to transform commerce and industry, and when Frederick the Great frustrated the annexation of Bavaria. At the end of his reign he had to ad-

mit that "after all his trouble he had made but few happy, and many ungrateful."

Joseph II was succeeded by his brother, Leopold II (1790–1792), who as duke of Tuscany had introduced many reforms in that tiny state, but when he came to rule the extensive territories left by his brother Joseph, he found his task of benevolent despot very complicated. When he in turn passed away, the French Revolution had distracted the attention of most continental rulers, so that Austria, like Great Britain, became reactionary. Enlightened despotism had failed in Austria.

There were several countries, however, where the enlightened despots met with considerable success. Among these countries were Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, Sweden, and Baden. Charles III, king of Spain from 1759–1788, achieved many of the changes which Joseph II of Austria had vainly tried to bring about. Not only did he limit the activities of the Spanish Inquisition, and suppress the Jesuits, but he also doubled the size of the fleet, encouraged the growth of industry, assisted in the improvement of agriculture, and patronized science. Similar tasks were accomplished by the king of Portugal, thanks largely to the ability of the famous Pombal, his minister; while the rulers of Sweden, Sardinia, and Baden also attempted to materialize some of the sounder ideals of Voltaire and Rousseau.

Everywhere in Europe the educated people came under the influence of the philosophers. Monarchs, noblemen, merchants, manufacturers, and country gentry made a careful study of the reforms recommended in social customs, political institutions, agriculture, industry, and commerce. The great inventions and discoveries of scientists and artisans attracted widespread attention. Many new periodicals and newspapers carried editorials and special articles to the homes of thousands of business men and of laborers. It was evident that some great movement was about to sweep away those institutions which nearly all the people condemned. The privileged

classes were on trial before the philosophers and editors, who deluged the public with heated arguments for immediate reform. The monarchs might still seem secure upon their thrones, but no one knew how long their despotism would last. The middle class was growing rich and chafed under the yoke of social inferiority. The farmers and the workingmen in the cities hoped for great gains when the old institutions should tumble down. Would reform or revolution gain the day? That would depend on the particular country in which one lived. If a real revolution should break out somewhere, however, it was likely to overshadow all developments in surrounding countries.

SUGGESTED READINGS

THE PRIVILEGED CLASSES, THE MIDDLE CLASS, THE PEASANTRY

H. E. Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*, 1763–1815, chapters I, III. An excellent survey.

H. D. Traill and J. S. Mann, *Social England.*

W. G. Sydney, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century.* Very useful.

J. E. Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*, vol. III. Scholarly, authentic. The third volume covers the eighteenth century.

M. Fordham, *A Short History of English Rural Life*, chapter VIII.

J. Mavor, *An Economic History of Russia*, vol. I, Book II, chapters I–IV.

H. Marczali, *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century.*

G. Edmundson, *History of Holland*, chapters XXI–XXIV.

H. S. Graham, *Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century.*

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

W. Walker, *A History of the Christian Church.*

J. M. Robertson, *A Short History of Christianity.*

W. Barry, *The Papacy and Modern Times,* chapter V.

J. Stoughton, *Religion under Queen Anne and the Georges.*

F. J. Snell, *Wesley and Methodism.*

R. M. Jones, *The Spiritual Reformers.*

R. A. Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics,* 2 vols.

A. W. Benn, *A History of English Rationalism in the Eighteenth Century.*

Cambridge Modern History, vol. V, chapter IV.

Art and Science

A. Marquand and A. L. Frothingham, *Text Book of the History of Sculpture.*

W. S. Pratt, *The History of Music.*

J. C. Van Dyke, *History of Painting.*

O. Lodge, *Pioneers of Science,* chapters I–IX.

W. T. Sedgwick and H. W. Tyler, *A Short History of Science,* chapter X.

W. A. Dunning, *Political Theories,* vol. II.

L. Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century.*

E. Gosse, *A History of Eighteenth Century Literature.*

The Era of Enlightenment

A. D. White, *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom.* A very interesting work.

C. C. J. Webb, *A History of Philosophy.*

W. Durant, *History of Philosophy.* Stimulating; very popular, and scholarly withal.

J. Morley, *Voltaire.* An excellent biography.

F. M. Arouet (Voltaire), *Letters on the English.*

J. J. Rousseau, *Social Contract.*

J. J. Rousseau, *Émile.*

A. Sorel, *Montesquieu,* translated from the French by G. Masson. Authentic and not too long.

L. L. Price, *A Short History of Political Economy in England from Adam Smith to Arnold Toynbee.*

R. B. Haldane, *Life of Adam Smith.*

H. Higgs, *The Physiocrats.*

A. Smith, *The Wealth of Nations,* 2 vols. Everyman's Library.

THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS

E. F. Henderson, *A Short History of Germany,* vol. II, chapter V. On the reforms of Frederick the Great.

C. T. Atkinson, *A History of Germany,* 1715–1815, chapters X, XVI. On the reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II.

J. Addison, *Charles III of Spain.*

A. H. Johnson, *The Age of Enlightened Despots,* chapter X.

R. N. Bain, *Scandinavia.*

H. M. Stephens, *Portugal.*

CHAPTER XI

FRANCE ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

In the middle of the eighteenth century, when Great Britain was assuming the rôle of the foremost naval and colonizing power in the world and seemed prepared to lead also in the shaping of advanced political institutions, France, though unsuccessful in its rivalry with England, continued to dominate the social customs and political theories on the Continent. Though Hobbes and Locke and Newton had taught the continental philosophers several important theories, the period from 1725 till 1775 saw the rise of Rousseau and Voltaire, who eclipsed their contemporaries in Great Britain. The brilliant court at Versailles, the fashions of Paris, and the French language still fascinated the higher classes and the educated people generally in the continental countries. In many of the German states as well as in Holland, the French language was widely employed in conversation, while French newspapers and periodicals were comparatively popular. What the court at Versailles deemed proper in etiquette, was considered flawless in the petty courts of the German princes. The enlightened despots in Spain, Italy, and Russia were likewise swayed by the social decrees of Versailles and Paris.

Because of the glamour of the French court under Louis XIV and because of the wars he fought, France appeared to be a stronger power politically than it was in reality, just as Spain after the reign of Philip II seemed stronger outwardly than it was actually. However, France emerged from the wars of Louis XIV and the contest with Great Britain with the same favorable position on the Continent as before, with the same fertile soil,

the same thrifty farmers,—a country which more easily than its neighbors could recuperate from economic losses. At the close of the eighteenth century the French people were prosperous enough to wish for more prosperity, and they were enlightened enough to realize fully the abuses existing in their government. France was the country where social and political revolution seemed more likely to break out than elsewhere, because here the demand for change was most urgent.

The Reign of Louis XV

It will be recalled that in 1740 Frederick II of Prussia invaded Silesia and started the War of the Austrian Succession. Although Frederick had violated the rules of international morality, few of his contemporaries expressed indignation at his bold action. In France he was openly applauded because the house of Habsburg still appeared to be the logical enemy of the Bourbons. Fleury feared to lose his position as chief minister if he resisted the popular demand for a Prussian alliance against Austria, while Louis XV also yielded in spite of his conviction that France would gain far more by remaining neutral. Had the king been more aggressive and less afraid of public opinion he might have saved his country much humiliation, for although the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) resulted in no loss of territory for France, it proved very costly and brought no gain. Fleury died in 1743 stricken with age and grief.

Even after the death of Fleury, the indolent king declined to seize the reins of personal power, but left much of the royal prerogative in the hands of his mistress, notably the intriguing Madame de Pompadour, who negotiated with Kaunitz, the Austrian diplomat, an alliance with Austria. The conflict which followed this alliance was far more disastrous for France than the previous struggle, for the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) fully disclosed the weakness of French naval power. The loss

of such valuable colonies as Canada and India may not have been appreciated by Voltaire and by the French court, but there were others who knew better. France had closed its eyes to the importance of an empire across the seas. When at last the truth dawned upon the French mind, it was too late to recover what would have been easy to develop a hundred years earlier.

Defeat in war usually weakens the government. Costly wars mean heavy taxation. A man like Louis XIV could easily surmount such difficulties, but his successor possessed neither the ambition nor the prestige of the Grand Monarch. Whereas the love affairs of the latter have been glorified in contemporary literature, the amours of Louis XV were represented as sordid. There was much discontent in France when the reign of Louis XV drew to a close. In 1715 his great-grandfather, as he lay dying, had said to him: "My child, try to relieve the people at the earliest possible moment and thus accomplish what I have been unable to do myself." He added that only peace would restore the prosperity of the French people, for well did he know how he himself had impoverished the nation. But the reign of his successor was marred by just as many wars as Louis XIV had fought. While the armies of the Grand Monarch had added luster to the French crown, the reign of Louis XV witnessed shame and humiliation. That was the chief reason why historians have overemphasized the extravagance of the court of Louis XV, who squandered little more on his mistresses and favorites than did his predecessor; and that is also the reason why the diplomacy of a Madame de Pompadour has been so greatly overestimated in its results.

Louis XV lived in an age when virtue was at a discount and the monarchy was declining. Both nobles and philosophers openly ridiculed the practice "of those benighted souls who still obeyed their superiors, remained faithful to their wives, respected the clergy, and believed in the need of self-denial." The frivolous nobles at Versailles, the bishops who mocked at piety

and faith, the indolent king at the head of the government, who preferred hunting and gambling to governing,—these privileged characters, placed in positions of great authority but not deserving of respect, refused to shoulder the burdens which duty commanded them to bear. They carelessly shirked their responsibilities, saying that their "successors might take care of themselves." Their own good fortune was certainly to last a little longer; what happened afterwards was not their concern.

The king had his difficulties, however. The inglorious wars of his reign had so greatly lowered his prestige that the voice of the critics grew ever louder. Even the formal annexation of Lorraine in 1766 and the purchase of the island of Corsica in 1768 reflected but little credit on the despised monarch. As the taxes grew heavier and life at Versailles became more scandalous the enemies of the government increased. In vain did Louis XV try to drown the voices of discontent. He resorted to despotic measures, but all to no avail. *Lettres de Cachet* were issued, blank orders for arrest, which the king signed in advance, and which his trusted officials carried with them to the homes of political offenders. No reasons were given why the accused were confined in the Bastile, that notorious prison in Paris which in the eyes of Parisian people became the symbol of royal tyranny. The king even sold these blanks to some of the nobles, so that they might also be enabled to dispose of their enemies.

Notwithstanding the censorship of the press, the suppression of numerous books, and the imprisonment of the radicals, the power of the king sank steadily. No longer could he say, "I am the state." Even though the Estates-General were not being convoked any longer, the despotism of Louis XV was very effectively held in check by another institution. Early in the reign of Louis XIV, when the Fronde broke out, the monarchy had been faced with the menace of resistance by a powerful and aggressive body of lawyers in the *parlements,* who threatened to reduce the royal prerogative to the same level as Parliament

was attempting to do in England. But Louis XIV had rendered them powerless. His successor, however, was less fortunate. The *Parlement* of Paris again defied the royal authority by refusing to register the king's decrees, in spite of his displeasure. At the end of the reign the situation had become so precarious for the king that he suppressed all the thirteen *parlements* of France and replaced them by royal courts (1771).

Such arbitrary actions only served to embitter the feelings of that powerful group of thinkers who under the leadership of Voltaire and Rousseau set themselves resolutely against absolutism. The middle class was beginning to grasp the opportunity which royal despotism had unconsciously prepared for them. The corruption in state and church had assumed such proportions and had been so plainly exposed that a thoroughgoing reformation was urgently needed; nothing less than that would save the privileged classes. It was futile for the king to resort to arbitrary measures in trying to suppress opposition. The century of Louis XIV was past, and when in 1774 his successor died, all educated Frenchmen knew that great changes in the government and in the Church were impending. Whether reformation or revolution would be the final solution was a question which few could answer. Much would depend on the character of the new ruler, equally much on the attitude of the nobles and the higher clergy; social conditions and political institutions might be changed to suit the desires of a new generation, or this rising generation might adapt itself to the old conditions, if purged from abuses and corruption.

Social and Religious Conditions under the Old Régime

In the middle of the eighteenth century there were about eighty thousand noble families in France, while the clergy numbered a hundred and thirty thousand members. The nobles and higher clergy, as was said above, formed respectively the

second and first estates. Since the opening of the seventeenth century the economic and political power of the nobility had greatly declined. Louis XIV, for example, had created a large number of titles, conferring the noble rank upon a great many members of the middle class. In the year 1696 alone five hundred persons were ennobled. By the year 1789 there were four thousand offices which conferred the patent of nobility. In addition to these there were about fifty thousand judicial offices in the eighteenth century, filled by members of the middle class, who were called the *noblesse de robe,* because the robes worn by them signified that they formed a noble class of their own, particularly so since Louis XIV in 1704 had made their offices hereditary. It will be recalled that the Grand Monarch, in order to weaken the power of the greater nobles, had "diluted" the quality of nobility by adding members of the middle class to it.

There were also economic factors which had begun to reduce the power of the nobility. Unlike the wealthy business men of our time, who do not regard it beneath their dignity to administer their own affairs, the nobles in the eighteenth century actually thought it a disgrace to supervise the management of their domains, nor did they deign to take up any industrial and commercial pursuits. As their estates became impoverished, it frequently happened that one or more were purchased by wealthy merchants or manufacturers, so that in the middle of the eighteenth century only three hundred noble families could boast of opulence, and not more than one thousand families could prove descent from noble ancestry. However, one fifth of the soil in France was owned by nobility as a whole, and, though political power had slipped from the hands of the nobles, they still enjoyed many privileges and exemptions.

Following a custom initiated by Louis XIV, the more distinguished members of the nobility lived part of the year in Versailles, where they formed the court, spending their time largely in social engagements, love-making, gambling, and

hunting. Many of them owned magnificent mansions in Paris and maintained stately castles in the country, where they resided for the rest of the year. The most lucrative positions in the government as well as in the church were constantly being reserved for them. They were best able to pay taxes, but paid almost nothing. They usually possessed talent and were well educated, but made very little practical application of their gifts and accomplishments. The gentlemen as a rule married beautiful and gracious ladies, but many of them entertained the belief that the company of mistresses was preferable to that of loving wives. Their manners were perfect but their morals were bad. They were social parasites and were determined to retain their privileges even though the down-trodden peasants might starve in the provinces.

Not all of the great nobles, however, were heartless and immoral. Fine examples of motherhood could be found among families of great affluence. When the nobles were absent from their estates, their bailiffs were as a rule harder masters than the nobles themselves. The country gentry were particularly courteous to their neighbors; some of them endowed hospitals for the poorer classes and distributed alms. Many of the lesser nobles were nearly as poor as the peasants and necessity compelled them to perform manual labor, but even these members of the nobility clung frantically to the distinction between their class and the prosperous farmers or the peasantry. They still collected rents from the peasants, ordered the latter to repair the roads (the *corvée*), levied tolls, hunted wherever they pleased, and demanded a fee whenever the peasants sold some of their land. The relations between nobles and peasants upon the whole were less cordial than they had been at the close of the medieval period; only in a few scattered localities did the two classes meet on friendly terms.

Almost everywhere the lesser nobles envied the wealthy personages who flitted about the court, and who squandered huge sums of money which had mostly been extorted from the

poor. The discontent of this numerous class of nobles grew in proportion to the degree of poverty experienced by them as the industrious middle class forged ahead. Between the great nobles and the wealthy business men the poverty-stricken gentry were indeed in a sorry plight and their criticism of existing abuses materially aided in the downfall of their own estate.

Far more powerful than they were the members of the middle class, which numbered approximately two and a half million out of a population of twenty-five million. Like the lesser nobles, they complained bitterly of the privileges accorded to men and women who deserved them less than most of the busy workers in order that the fine courtiers and the gay ladies at the court might loaf. But the middle class in turn oppressed the less privileged laborers and peasants. The journeymen in the cities, seeing themselves excluded from the craft gilds of the masters, formed societies of their own and organized strikes and boycotts. They struck heavy blows at the Old Régime.

In the country there were still between 150,000 and 1,000,000 serfs, while the free peasants were divided into different classes. Some of them were copyholders, that is, they paid a small rent for the land they held from the great landowners. Others owned the land themselves, while still others leased farms. Finally, there were the *métayers,* who held land on shares, paying the owner generally one half of their income. All of the peasants were weighted down by the heaviest burdens carried in France. Only faintly did they realize the injustice of the Old Régime, but, as the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau spread through the country, even the peasants began to feel their influence. Compared with the peasants in neighboring countries, however, the French peasantry was relatively prosperous and it was more the result of enlightenment than of misery that caused the French to make the first attack on the Old Régime.

Perhaps the chief pillar of the Old Régime was the clergy.

The Roman Catholic Church has always been noted for its conservatism, and the French clergy in the eighteenth century had special reasons for wishing to maintain the old order of things. The French church was rich. One fifth of the soil was owned by the clergy, and their income from invested property was the equivalent of $125,000,000 a year, which meant an average income for each member of $1000, a handsome figure for that time. But the total was by no means properly divided. Whereas some of the prominent bishops enjoyed an annual stipend of more than $100,000, the parish priests received a mere $150! In addition to the returns from invested property, the sources of income were fees received at weddings, christenings, and funerals. Furthermore, the tithes were still imposed for the support of the clergy. They amounted to about one eighteenth of a person's annual income.

The French clergy enjoyed many privileges. It was the only body in France which possessed undisputed constitutional rights independent of the crown. Compared with other churches, the French, or Gallican Church, was especially favored with privileges and immunities. The Concordat of 1516, drawn up between the pope and the French king, was still in force, giving the French government the right to appoint the members of the higher clergy. The "Gallican Liberties," which were drafted in 1682 by the leaders in the French church, stated that (1) "God has given to the pope no power, direct or indirect, over temporal affairs; (2) Church councils are superior to the pope in spiritual matters; (3) The rules, usages, and statutes admitted by the kingdom and the Church of France must remain inviolate; (4) In matters of faith, the decisions of the pope are irrevocable only after having received the consent of the Church." The Gallican Church retained a high degree of independence until the outbreak of the French Revolution. Although it was taxed by the crown, the tax levied was called the "Free Gift of the Church," for the clergy refused to admit that it was being taxed at all, but agreed each year to present to the government a

fixed sum of money which the king graciously accepted. Sometimes the gift was not freely presented. One year, for example, the clergy gave it only on condition that Voltaire's works be suppressed.

The bishoprics were usually reserved for members of the nobility, and many of the bishops enjoyed the revenues of several rich abbeys. Although the temptation for the wealthy bishops was great to indulge in worldly pleasure and to neglect their spiritual duties, there were always a small number of conscientious prelates who lived simply and gave alms to the poor. Next to the bishops ranked the abbots, whose office was a gift of the king. They were as a rule very neglectful of their duties, being restrained by no discipline and having no cares. They did not even have to belong to the religious orders which they governed, wherefore they were seldom disposed to become interested in the monasteries entrusted to their care, but lived lives of indolence and pleasure in Versailles and Paris.

A large part of the revenues of the church was devoted to the maintenance of monasteries and convents, where approximately 65,000 monks and nuns lived in comfort, excepting a small number who chose to live as ascetics. The religious orders took care of the sick and the poor, educated the young, and contributed to arts, science, and literature. Many monks were accused of laziness, but the philosophers, in criticizing the lives of those who sought to develop their religious natures by retreating into monasteries, failed to realize that every person has the right to pursue a course of religious training. In spite of the French Revolution, there are today just as many monks and nuns in France as there were in the eighteenth century. Some of the convents, however, were justly attacked, for discipline was never fully enforced everywhere. There were only a few very rich monasteries in the whole kingdom, and it is safe to say that much less injustice and inequality prevailed among the regular than among the secular clergy.

To the latter belonged the priests who had charge of the parishes. They were relatively independent and could not be deprived of their livings without due process of law. In their little parishes they exercised considerable authority. To them the *intendant* applied for information concerning conditions in their respective villages. The parish priests, called vicars, or pastors, living among the common people, and being as a rule descended from the lower classes, sympathized with them. They envied the abbots and bishops as much as the country gentry envied the greater nobles. They were not satisfied with all the aspects of the Old Régime. Their income was barely sufficient to meet their daily needs; the tithes which theoretically belonged to them were in many cases usurped by nobles or monasteries. In the provincial assemblies of the church they were not represented and they were treated coldly by the higher clergy, who not seldom revealed unmistakable signs of contempt for them.

Both the government and the clergy remained bent on the extinction of Protestantism. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 had resulted in the emigration of the larger part of the Huguenots, while many thousands of other Huguenots had affiliated themselves with the Roman Catholic Church. Protestants were frequently sent to serve on the galleys and occasionally they were executed. The last execution of which we have a record is that of Calas in 1762 and the last galley prisoners were released in 1770. However, complete religious freedom was not granted in France before the Revolution. Until 1787 marriages of Protestants and the legitimacy of their children were not recognized. They could not hold services in churches and their pastors were persecuted relentlessly. King Louis XVI was warned by one of the bishops in 1787 that the protection of the Protestants would bring many evils in its train. But again, the century of Louis XIV was past and to fight against the rising wave of tolerance was of little avail. The Catholic Church in France was itself on trial and neither

the censorship of the press nor the *lettres de cachet* could stifle the voice of the philosophers. The pillars of the Old Régime were tottering.

Political and Economic Conditions

The French government, like that of most continental countries, was autocratic. Thanks to the labors of Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV, the government had become strongly centralized, the political power of the nobles had been broken, the Estates-General suppressed, the provincial assemblies shorn of much of their prerogatives, the governors in the provinces deprived of responsibilities, and the cities made subservient to the crown.

At the head of the government stood the king, who exercised the executive function together with the Council of State, and was assisted by about thirty advisers. The Council of State, also named the Royal Council, was divided into five smaller councils, each of which had separate functions. The ministers ruled in the name of the king and were personally responsible to him. Legislation in the kingdom was largely controlled by the Council of State, but this body in turn was strongly influenced by the court nobility. A monarch like Louis XV was often more affected by the advice of his favorites at Versailles than by that of his most capable ministers. Thus it frequently happened that he was kept ignorant of important developments and was hindered from introducing reforms.

Local administration was no longer actively supervised by the governors, but by the *intendants*. There were thirty-three of these officials, each representing the central government in their respective districts, which were named *généralités*. The latter were subdivided into smaller units and their officials were responsible to the *intendants*. The cities had lost much of their former self-government; most of their important judicial and financial transactions were subject to the approval of the *in-*

tendants, while the municipal offices had come under the direct control of the king. Rural communities had retained a little more independence than the cities, but even here the *intendants* supervised the militia, the police force, the administration of justice, the enforcement of the *corvée,* the development of agriculture, commerce, and industry, the collection of taxes, and ecclesiastical problems.

In some of the outlying provinces, because they had been more recently annexed and had for that reason retained a greater measure of independence, provincial estates still functioned as in the days before Richelieu and Louis XIV. They consisted of three estates, exactly as did the Estates-General, representing the clergy, the nobility, and the middle class. They kept up a semblance of self-government by apportioning the taxes in the province, by having them collected by their own agents, and by levying special taxes for the construction of public works, but in actual practice they were nearly as firmly controlled by the central government as were the other provinces.

There were many courts in France and a large majority of them had overlapping powers. There were the manorial courts, the courts of the church, the municipal courts, and the inferior courts of the king. Since the courts of the nobles and of the clergy had been deprived of a large share of their former jurisdiction, the municipal and royal courts had overshadowed the former, exactly as had happened in England. Above the inferior courts just mentioned ranked the thirteen *parlements.*

Administration of justice suffered from many evils. In the first place, French laws were extremely complicated. It has been estimated that nearly four hundred sets of laws were enforced at this time. Some of the laws were of Roman origin, others were feudal, still others Germanic, while the decrees of the crown and the decisions of provincial assemblies and city councils also remained in force. How could any one tell which kind of law was enforceable unless he had studied the origins

of a great many others? Since anybody with means could purchase a judgeship, without regard to his own ability or industry, or the lack of both, many justices were entirely incompetent to render equitable decisions. The lawyers were often more anxious to obtain fees for themselves than justice for their clients. Judges were frequently bribed. Why should not they accept presents, they reasoned, in order that they might regain the money invested in their office?

Even more serious were the abuses in the finances. It has been noted that the costly wars of Louis XIV and Louis XV, the magnificent palaces, filled with frivolous nobles, and the extravagance of the privileged classes generally, made heavy inroads on the royal treasury. Only a financial wizard could have kept that treasury filled, but no such official made his appearance. If the collection of the taxes had been efficient, the difficulties of the monarch might have proved surmountable, but a large part of them never reached the treasury. The chief indirect taxes were paid to "farmers-general," who "farmed," that is, collected, them. They received from the government, on the payment of a lump sum, the right to levy the taxes as they saw fit, and the tendency naturally was to extort as much money from the people as they possibly could. The collection of direct taxes was also open to criticism.

The revenues of the crown were threefold, being derived partly from the royal domains, partly from the direct taxes, and partly from indirect taxes. The first source was constantly declining, which compelled the king to rely more and more on taxation. The most important direct tax was the *taille,* which in some of the southern provinces was levied on real estate, while elsewhere it was a personal tax based on income and paid only by the middle and lower classes, except in a large number of towns where this tax was not levied at all or else took the form of another tax, named *octroi,* a sort of customs duty levied at the gates of these cities. In the provinces where the provincial estates had disappeared (the so-called

pays d'élection) the amount to be paid by each *généralité* (the district governed by an *intendant*) was determined in advance by the Council of State. After that the total was apportioned among the smaller units, and finally the amount of every parish was assessed. In rural communities from three to seven collectors were elected by popular vote, to apportion the tax among the members of the parish. They collected a small amount in addition to the regular tax to cover their own expenses. It frequently happened that influential persons prevailed upon the assessors to diminish the gross amount levied on their respective villages, and within each community the lightening of one man's burdens would result in heavier taxes for his neighbors. Hence it became the custom to appear as poor as possible and no one paid promptly for fear that he might seem to be more prosperous than others. The *taille* was one of the most hated of taxes, because the privileged classes, who could best afford to pay, were exempt.

Another important direct tax was the "Twentieth" (*vingtième*), an income tax of five per cent, which was gradually increased to more than ten per cent, while on landed property it finally climbed to sixteen per cent. The clergy was immune from assessment, having bought a perpetual exemption, while the tricky nobles and wealthy business men had their income underestimated. The *capitation* (a term derived from *caput,* the Latin equivalent of head), was in theory a poll or head tax, but in reality it turned out to be another income tax. For the purpose of its assessment the population of France was divided into twenty-two classes, according to their ability to pay.

Among the indirect taxes were the excise, the customs duties, and the notorious *gabelle,* or salt tax. The latter caused bitter resentment in many sections of France, because the price of salt varied all the way from two to sixty *livres* a hundred pounds, or from two to sixty cents a pound in our currency. Everybody was supposed to buy seven pounds of salt

from the government each year, and, because the people in one province had to pay ten times as much or more than those in other provinces, smuggling became very extensive. In one year more than ten thousand men, women, and children were arrested for trying to transport salt from one province to another. There were also taxes on tobacco, paper, starch, and many other articles, but the *gabelle* was resented more than any other tax. Peasants joined with the business men and the professional men in clamoring for a new apportionment of taxes, obviating inequality, injustice, and wasteful collection.

The Fall of the Absolute Monarchy

When Louis XVI, the grandson of Louis XV, ascended the French throne in 1774, high hopes were entertained for improvement and reform. The young king was virtuous and full of good intentions. He appointed Turgot minister of finances, and no king could have made a better choice. For thirteen years Turgot had served as *intendant* at Limoges and had won a reputation of integrity and enlightenment. He had contributed to the *Encyclopedia,* and Voltaire applauded his appointment. It was expected that the principles of free trade, social equality, and toleration were going to prevail. The finances were to undergo a complete transformation; interior customs lines, which hampered the free flow of trade, were to be abolished, the craft gilds were to be deprived of their monopolies, and the peasants were to be freed from the burden of forced labor on the roads.

Turgot was one of the most enlightened statesmen of his time, but he lacked tact and diplomacy. He probably tried to do too much at once and he was too rash. Like Joseph II, that typical example of enlightened despotism, who attempted so much and accomplished so little, Turgot encountered many unforeseen obstacles. The peasants misunderstood his good intentions, the nobles refused to surrender their privileges,

the clergy objected to the idea of being taxed, and the "farmers-general" resisted the attempted reforms in the collection of the taxes. What Turgot needed was time, but he had been in office only two years when the War of the American Revolution seemed about to involve France in a disastrous conflict with Great Britain. In order to carry out his reforms, Turgot had to apply the strictest economy. To finance a war with the greatest naval power in the world would be far beyond him, and in 1776 he was dismissed.

It was the ill fortune of Louis XVI to govern the French nation in one of the most critical periods ever faced by any country. Only a monarch of strong will-power and great industry could guide the French through the era of storm and stress that now seemed at hand. Was Louis XVI such a monarch? One of the first acts of his reign was to reinstate the *parlements,* notwithstanding the warning issued by Turgot who argued that the *parlements* were the enemies of the crown. The monarch should exercise authority, reasoned Turgot. But Louis XVI wanted no authority. No, he was not the type of man who could rise to great heights of power in terrible crises and sway the minds of millions. He exhibited occasional flashes of intelligence, but unfortunately he never made a practical application of them. He was too awkward and lumbering to preside with dignity over meetings and he was too much interested in hunting to attend to his duties. Many an important meeting of the Council of State was broken up because the king suddenly decided to go hunting. There were times when he was too lazy to hunt deer himself, but had them driven into the palace garden, where he shot them down from his window. Such was the character of the man who governed France on the eve of the Revolution!

The king's wife added to his unpopularity. As a result of the alliance with the house of Habsburg, which had involved France in the ruinous Seven Years' War, the heir to the French throne had married Marie Antoinette, a daughter of Maria

Theresa of Austria. The mere fact that she was an Austrian princess made her a hated object in the eyes of the French people, who bitterly referred to her as "the Austrian." She might possibly have endeared herself to the French if she had earnestly endeavored to serve their cause. But she was exactly the opposite of what the critics of the government wanted her to be. She was frivolous and extravagant in the extreme, light-headed, selfish, and petulant. Her physical beauty and her vanity led her to make unpardonable expenditures. While ministers of finance despaired over the constantly increasing debt, she procured ever more jewelry and costly dresses, lavished vast sums on her favorites, and gave curt replies to those who questioned the wisdom of her extravagance. When she turned up a tearful face to her husband, what could the soft-hearted monarch do but yield to her entreaties?

In 1776 Turgot was succeeded as controller of finance by Necker, a Swiss banker, who remained in office for five years. Necker was a practical business man, who believed in concrete facts and in immediate relief. He rightly asserted that Turgot was too theoretical. What the government needed first of all, reasoned Necker, was ready cash. So he set to work and borrowed 400,000,000 francs from his friends, reduced expenditures, reformed the whole system of collection of the taxes, and applied his knowledge of auditing to the finances of the government. Great was the applause he received everywhere in France, and when in 1781 he finally published his celebrated *Compte Rendu,* or *Account Rendered of the Finances,* in which he made many secrets of the treasury the property of the public, he was praised as a financial savior. Little did the people know then that Necker had purposely misrepresented the condition of the finances, in order that he might get all the more credit for his services to the government. He painted these conditions in a very optimistic light, omitting the staggering figures which the war with Great Britain entailed. Furthermore, he merely treated the symptoms of the financial

disease from which the French government was suffering. He found the cash which was so sorely needed, but he failed to provide for the future. Turgot, if he had had time, would have cured the disease itself; Necker was more superficial. The people clamored for war; Necker found the money with which to carry on the war. Turgot warned against the bankruptcy which war would bring and, when he saw how little his warning was heeded, he resigned. Necker responded to popular demands and remained in office till 1781.

In 1778 the French Government declared war on Great Britain, which for the past two years had been attempting to suppress the revolt of the American colonies. The opportunity had come for France to seek revenge for the losses sustained in the Seven Years' War, and to free Europe from the "tyrants of the Sea." Vergennes, the minister of foreign affairs, pleaded for intervention in behalf of the American colonists. France could not afford, said he, to sit idly by and see Great Britain usurp the whole of North America. What would France be in comparison with the British Empire, if the latter kept on expanding indefinitely? Vergennes realized that war meant expenditure of huge sums of money, but the money could easily be raised. Great Britain should be humbled at any price. Vergennes did not have to wait long for popular response, since the idea of helping a people which was trying to shake off British tyranny appealed to almost every Frenchman. Liberty was one of the maxims of the philosophers. When Franklin appeared in Paris, he was warmly welcomed by the prominent Parisians. Lafayette and his volunteers departed for America, subsidies were sent, and finally, some regular troops. How badly French assistance was needed by the Americans in 1778 is not for us to enlarge upon. The moral support alone was most beneficial to the American cause.

French statesmen had at last come to the conclusion that in order to weaken England most effectually, France should avoid entanglements on the Continent. Had Louis XIV car-

ried out this policy in 1667, he would have prevented the situation which confronted the French a century later. But even in 1778 it was useful to know the truth. Peace on the Continent was preserved. Futhermore, the Spanish and the Dutch, resenting English aggression on the seas, joined the French in the War of the American Revolution, while Russia formed a league with the Scandinavian countries to restrain the English from violating the liberty of the seas in northern Europe (1780).

Whereas the French, after the defeat sustained in the naval battle of La Hogue in 1692, had turned their attention with disgust from the navy to the army; whereas Voltaire had contemptuously spoken of Canada as "Acres of snow," the government in 1778 began to build a strong navy. The results were most gratifying, for everywhere the English fleets were held in check, and when in 1783 the British had to acknowledge the independence of the thirteen American colonies, and tried to compensate themselves at the expense of the Spanish and the Dutch, they had to relinquish that hope. Although they retained Gibraltar, they restored to Spain the island of Minorca. French prestige rose in the Far East, which enabled the French to make the beginnings of an empire in Asia, while they also regained Senegal in Africa, the nucleus of the great domain now held by them on the "Dark Continent."

Louis XVI, stupid though he was, showed a good deal of common sense when he decided to maintain friendly relations with the great powers in Europe. To uphold the independence of Poland, to prevent the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, to maintain the equilibrium on the Continent, as England had attempted a hundred years earlier,—this clearly was the right policy for the French government. In the meantime, French influence was steadily gaining ground in Spain, the Austrian Netherlands, and the Dutch Republic. It pleased the French when a rebellion broke out in the Austrian Netherlands, where the political reforms contemplated by Joseph II

(1780–1790) met with no approval. It also pleased the French to see that the *stadhouder* in the Dutch Republic maintained with difficulty his exalted position in the midst of a people which devoured the works of Rousseau and Voltaire, and which thirsted for revenge on the English, inasmuch as the war of 1780–1783 had revealed their own weakness and had enabled the English to seize huge stores of Dutch colonial products. The rulers of Prussia and Austria watched with jealousy the diplomacy of the French statesmen. The British government, baffled by the unexpected strength of the French navy, likewise kept a watchful eye on developments in France, where an exceptional degree of prosperity prevailed. One of the questions most frequently asked in European courts was, Will France again occupy the prominent position attained under Louis XIV?

However, the war with Great Britain had cost France more than one and a half billion livres, or francs. Necker, by obtaining loans rather than more taxes, had pleased the influential classes but merely postponed the vital solution of the financial problems. Not even a clever business man like Necker could secure loans year after year without giving proper security. When at last he had to resort to real reform, he incurred the displeasure of the nobles, the clergy, and the *parlements*. During the five years he had controlled the finances of the government, Necker had not received the rank of minister, since he was a Protestant. When in 1781 he felt strong enough to ask for this title, his request was declined, and he felt obliged to resign. During the following two years two other officials attempted to reform the finances, only to fail in turn.

In 1783 the king appointed Calonne minister of finance, hoping that this adroit and tactful person might save the government from bankruptcy. The debt was mounting from year to year, and yet no measures had been taken to increase the revenues. Calonne, although he knew how hopeless was his

task, assumed an air of optimism. His method resembled that of Necker. By securing a few more loans, he aimed to tide over the period when the treasury would remain empty until the time when a more effectual system of taxation would result in an annual income more than sufficient to meet all expenditures. Modern research has shown that contemporaries unjustly accused him of extravagance and that the *parlements*, reinstated by Louis XVI, were the real obstacles to reform. They had opposed Turgot and Necker; they also resisted Calonne. Hence the king and his minister found only two ways open to them by which to bring about reform and cure the financial ills of the government. They would either have to convoke a meeting of the Estates-General, obsolete though this body was, or else an Assembly of Notables, that is, of the prominent nobles, bishops, and magistrates. They alone could vote new taxes, now that the *parlements* defied the king, who refused to suppress them as his predecessor had done. The king, as was said above, wanted no authority for himself. He was no Grand Monarch; government did not fascinate him as did hunting.

In 1787 an Assembly of Notables was called. It consisted of 145 members, mostly drawn from the privileged classes, who felt no desire to sacrifice the privileges which were theirs to enjoy, as they argued. They merely abolished the *corvée*, and approved the establishment of provincial assemblies, the rivals of the *parlements*. When Calonne took the bold step of revealing the appalling condition of the treasury, the nobles, instead of sacrificing a share of their property to save the government, accused Calonne of having robbed the government, and asked for his dismissal, which the king granted. Calonne was succeeded by Loménie de Brienne, a member of the higher clergy, who obtained no more from the nobles than any other minister had done. So the only recourse left was a meeting of the Estates-General. On August 8, 1788, Brienne convoked the meeting for May 1, 1789, saying that, "public confidence had

been destroyed by the very men who should have conspired to preserve it; the public loans had been refused as though they had not been necessary." It was now the turn for Brienne to resign, for the stupid people imagined that the deficit was all the fault of the ministers and that, somehow, money could be raised without they themselves paying it. As one French historian says, "They were like so many Simple Simons, impatient to throw themselves into the water for fear of getting wet in the rain." The minister of finance was gone, the *parlements* were abolished, the king had lost most of his authority, and now the Estates-General would solve all difficulties. The death-knell of the absolute monarchy had been sounded. The Revolution was at hand!

SUGGESTED READINGS

The Reign of Louis XV

J. B. Perkins, *France under Louis XV*, 2 vols.

J. Bainville, *History of France*, chapter XIV.

G. B. Adams, *The Growth of the French Nation*, pp. 240–250.

A. J. Grant, *The French Monarchy*, vol. II, chapters XVI–XX.

Social and Religious Conditions

E. J. Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, chapters III, VI, VIII, XI, XII, XIII. Comprehensive and trustworthy.

S. Mathews, *The French Revolution*, chapters III, V.

Political and Economic Conditions

E. J. Lowell, *The Eve of the French Revolution*, chapters II, XIV, XV.

S. Mathews, *The French Revolution*, chapter II.

A. Tilley, *Modern France*, pp. 291–322.

W. W. Stephens, *Life and Writings of Turgot.* Contains extracts from some of Turgot's decrees.

A. de Tocqueville, *The State of Society in France before the Revolution in 1789,* translated from the French by H. Reeve. A very important source of information by a famous French politician.

A. Young, *Travels in France,* 1787, 1788, and 1789. Observations by an English expert on finances and agriculture.

THE FALL OF THE ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

J. Bainville, *History of France,* chapter XV. The author interprets events from a royalist point of view. His opinions, though not universally accepted, are worth considering.

G. B. Adams, *Growth of the French Nation.*

A. J. Grant, *The French Monarchy,* vol. II, chapter XXI.

J. H. Rose, *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era,* chapters I–III.

H. E. Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe,* chapters VI–VIII.

CHAPTER XII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Early in the year 1789 it was not yet apparent that a real revolution was coming. The Old Régime, suffering from the wounds of financial difficulties, was rapidly dying, but what the future would bring could scarcely be foreseen by any one. The privileges and exemptions of the clergy and the nobility plainly revealed the weakness of the old order of things. It was these privileges and immunities which were now being exposed to careful scrutiny. Very few of the radical philosophers dreamed of overthrowing the monarchy. Although the king and the queen were held responsible for much of the extravagance at the court, the people did not demand the abolition of the monarchy.

The burden of taxation in France and the royal expenditures are usually exaggerated by historians. It may be entertaining to describe the follies of the queen and her favorites, and it has been customary to attack the "recklessness" of Calonne, but, as a matter of fact, Calonne permitted no greater expenditures by the queen and the royal family than had been sanctioned by Turgot. One family is not apt to ruin a whole nation by spending a few millions a year. Arthur Young, a noted English traveler, reported that taxes in England were twice as heavy as in France, and the French were uncommonly prosperous in the years immediately preceding the Revolution. The annual deficit was 160,000,000 francs, or a little more than six francs for every Frenchman,—a mere trifle compared with the staggering debts incurred by European governments in the nineteenth century.

The causes of the French Revolution were various and complex. Some of them were slow in the making and only affected the movement after it had run its course for several years. The teachings of the philosophers may be named among such causes, for they certainly did not have anything to do with the financial difficulties experienced by Turgot and Necker and Calonne. There were social causes, resulting from the inequality in social rank. There were also political causes, as exemplified by the struggle between the crown and the *parlements,* between the middle class and the privileged order, between the exponents of divine-right monarchy and the supporters of representative government. Even religion had some effect on the nature of the Revolution. The skepticism of the Deists, the cynicism of some of the prelates, and the growing disrespect for authority formed a strange contrast to the religion of the peasants and the piety of the lower clergy. The enemies of the Old Régime confused the abuses in the Church with alleged flaws in the teachings of Christ and absurdities in the Christian religion. Many of them attacked the Church and Christianity without appreciating the differences between ecclesiastical and religious conditions. They also attacked the financial policies of Turgot and his successors, without stopping to think that no government can be conducted without adequate revenues. They clamored for liberty, without trying to distinguish between liberty and license. Everybody wanted to have the taxes as low as possible; so low in fact that no amount of efficiency and integrity on the part of any group of officials could have provided for more than a mere semblance of government. In some mysterious way the Estates-General was to find the required funds without increasing the burdens of taxation.

The Estates-General and the National Assembly

To convoke an Estates-General was not in itself a decidedly revolutionary act. Between 1302 and 1614 many meetings of

this body had been held, and, unlike the *parlements,* it had never been a serious check on the power of the crown. The method of election to membership employed in the winter of 1788–1789 was furthermore in accordance with former customs. Each of the three estates was permitted to elect its own representatives, but the third estate, theoretically representing ninety-eight per cent of the population, was granted the right to choose as many members as the first and second estates combined. The clergy and the nobility sent each about three hundred members and the third estate a little over six hundred, making a total of twelve hundred representatives, who on May 5, 1789, assembled in Versailles for the first session. Most of them had been instructed by their electors to present a list of grievances and particularly the members of the third estate were prepared to vote for radical changes in the social system as well as in the government. Even among the nobles there were approximately ninety men who were in favor of thoroughgoing reform, while the lower clergy were also on the side of the reformers.

One of the issues which immediately engaged the attention of all the delegates was that of the manner in which votes were to be cast. Were the estates to have one vote each, and was the voting to be by order, or would each member have a separate vote? The third estate naturally favored the latter scheme, while the privileged classes opposed it. For six weeks no solution seemed possible, until on June 17 the members of the third estate took the bold step of declaring themselves the National Assembly, since they represented nearly the whole of the French people. They solemnly swore to reform existing institutions and agreed to authorize no taxes which the nation did not approve. Two days later they appointed a committee charged with the power of providing a food supply for Paris, thereby ingratiating themselves with the lower classes. The summer of 1788 had been very unfavorable for the peasants and a severe winter had followed, causing intense suffering

among the poor. The latter were therefore interested far more in their own distress than in the change in political institutions. They were likely to support those who showed sympathy for them.

On June 20, when the deputies of the third estate assembled at their meeting-place, they were surprised to find the hall closed, and were informed that it was being remodeled to serve for a royal session. The tactless king had neglected to give them notice in advance. So the disappointed deputies, resenting the lack of courtesy on the part of their ruler, repaired to a building where tennis used to be played. Here the excited deputies swore the "Oath of the Tennis Court," promising each other that they would not separate until they had made a constitution for France. In other words, they now considered themselves as a national constituent assembly and disregarded entirely the rights of the first and second estates, nor did they wait for sanction from the king.

Here was real revolution. The timid monarch, vacillating between fear and anger, scarcely knew how to act. The queen and the nobles prevailed upon him to order the three estates to sit together and to vote by order, except on a few minor questions. When on June 23 the royal session was held and the king issued the order to the three estates, most of the nobles and the clergy withdrew. The other delegates hesitated, knowing that departure meant to forsake the cause of reform, while the reverse signified defiance of the royal will. When the master of ceremonies reaffirmed the message of the monarch, one of the deputies of the third estate rose to his feet, exclaiming that "he and his fellow-deputies would not leave except at the point of the bayonet." The speaker was Mirabeau, who became one of the most influential orators in France during the early period of the Revolution. His impressive personality and powerful voice so encouraged the men around him that they decided to defy the king, and during the next three days about fifty nobles and more than half of the clergy

joined the deputies of the third estate, who now formed the National, or National Constituent Assembly. The king saw no alternative but to recognize the new institution and so it happened that on June 27 the last Estates-General in the history of France came to an end. The nobles and the clergy were commanded to join the deputies in the National Assembly, which therefore contained the same members as the former Estates-General.

The privileged classes, however, did not mean to acquiesce without a struggle. They gained the ear of the king, and during the following two weeks large numbers of soldiers were brought from the frontiers to Paris and Versailles. Necker, who had been recalled to office with the powers and rank of a real minister, was now dismissed, because the nobles suspected him of trying to initiate real reforms, which could not fail to hurt them. The news of the dismissal soon reached the people in Paris. Immediately the fear of national bankruptcy seized upon the prominent citizens, while the lower classes concluded that reform would not be forthcoming if the nobles kept the upper hand. Mobs collected in various sections of the city, aroused to a state of tense excitement by popular orators who denounced the privileged classes. On July 14 one of the mobs surged toward the Bastile, the symbol of the Old Régime, stormed the hated prison, and forced the garrison to surrender the building. In commemoration of this dramatic event, the fourteenth of July has become the principal national holiday of the French people. In the meantime the people of Paris set up a municipal government of their own, called the *Commune,* consisting of representatives from various districts in the city and elected by the people at large. They organized a militia which was styled the National Guard. When the court nobles in Versailles learned these disquieting facts, the king's youngest brother and many of the nobles and the higher clergy emigrated from France; hence the name *émigrés,* later applied to them.

Once more the king acquiesced in the triumph won by the party of reform. But again the nobility and the bishops conspired to overthrow the National Assembly. Troops were coming from Flanders and early in October a banquet was held to celebrate the restoration of the Old Régime. But the people of Paris for the second time rose to action. On October 5 a mob of women, accompanied by several men dressed as women, marched all the way from Paris to Versailles, a distance of twelve miles. A wild night followed, during which Lafayette, commander of the National Guard, saved the royal family from the frenzied mob, but the latter compelled the king and queen and their son to return with them to Paris, shouting as they went, "We now have the baker and the baker's wife and the baker's boy," implying that now they were to be provided at last with food. In the meantime the royal family had recognized the three colors of the revolution: the white of the Bourbon flag, combined with the red and blue of the arms of Paris,—the tricolor of France. A little later the National Assembly was transferred from Versailles to Paris, where it was to hold its sessions in the real capital of France, amidst the most radical elements of the French people.

From Paris the revolutionary movement spread rapidly into the provinces. In the provincial cities the lower classes formed mobs and ransacked the homes of the wealthy burghers and the representatives of the king. The middle class thereupon organized armed forces modeled after the National Guard at Paris. They completely revolutionized the municipal governments, abolishing in many instances the old oligarchic corporations which controlled the city. In the rural communities a peculiar mob psychology appeared at first to distort the minds of the lower classes. Terrified by the strange news which came from Paris, the thought simultaneously filled the minds of thousands that something terrible was going to happen. In scores of localities one of the inhabitants would suddenly rush down the street or road, exclaiming, "The brigands

are coming," whereupon everybody fled for his life. But when the brigands did not appear, the fear instilled into the terrified minds of the ignorant people changed into hatred for the wealthy nobles, who for so many generations had suppressed the peasants. So they took up arms and stormed the castles, demanding the records of feudal dues. In this way they destroyed the remnants of feudalism in most districts. Many of the castles were burned and their noble occupants murdered. Royal representatives were deprived of their authority and taxes were no longer paid. Chaos now reigned in the country.

Reforms of the National Assembly

Among the many spectacular scenes and dramatic events of the French Revolution the work of the National Assembly is apt to seem uninteresting and of comparatively little importance. But if one views all the changes which were introduced between 1789 and 1799, one will observe that the most important and the most lasting were generally those achieved by the National Assembly. Even before this body removed from Versailles to Paris, it had already accomplished some very important work and it had drawn up decrees which must be ranked with the most significant in the history of modern Europe.

Shortly after the fall of the Bastile the disturbance in the country broke out and early in August news of this reached the National Assembly. On August 4 one of the committees made a report concerning these disturbances, which was followed by heated discussion, until in the evening one of the leading nobles suddenly proposed to do away with feudal privileges, which had been the chief cause of discontent among the people. Now followed a remarkable scene. The nobles, realizing how much they had already lost, made gestures of magnanimous generosity by renouncing the feudal rights of which the peasants had just deprived them. During

the whole night the scene continued, the clergy joining the nobles by renouncing the tithes, while the representatives from the cities and from several provinces surrendered their special rights.

After the enthusiasm of August 4 a slight reaction set in, which was reflected in the decree of August 11. Feudalism was not completely abolished, although servile labor, that is, work without pay, was done away with, the nobles lost the right to hunt at will on the property of the peasants, manorial courts were suppressed, the sale of judicial offices was prohibited, tithes were discontinued on condition that the clergy receive some other source of income, the privileged classes were deprived of their immunities in respect to the assessment of taxes, all French citizens were declared eligible to political offices, and the greatest abuses in the Church were corrected. Like the Bill of Rights of the English (1689), this great decree of 1789 embodied a number of liberties for which the people had long clamored in vain, and which formed a charter of the first magnitude.

Another charter of liberties was the celebrated *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen,* which was prepared by a committee. After considerable delay, twenty-three articles were accepted by the Assembly on August 27. They contained the following statements: "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. . . . The object of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and indefeasible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. The source of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. . . . Liberty consists in being free to do anything that does not injure others. . . . Law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to participate personally or by their representatives in its formation. . . . All citizens being equal in its eyes are equally eligible to all honors, offices, and public employments, according to their ability, and without other distinction than that of their virtues

and their talents. . . . The law should establish only such penalties as are strictly and clearly necessary. . . . Every man is presumed innocent until found guilty. . . . No one should be annoyed because of his opinions, even religious, provided that their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law. The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious rights of man. . . . Property being an inviolable and sacred right, no one may be deprived of it except when public necessity, legally ascertained, clearly requires it, and on condition of a just and prior indemnity." Taxes were to be "equally apportioned among all citizens according to their means," and every public agent was subject to the will of society, which had the right to require of him "an account of his administration."

This Declaration of the Rights of Man may not be so famous as England's Magna Carta, but its influence in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been far greater than that of any other similar document. It plainly embodied some of the ideals of Rousseau and of the Americans who had just fought a war of independence and had written into their Declaration of Independence that "all men are born free and equal." France, which before 1750 had lagged behind England in the shaping of political institutions and social customs, now became the leader in the field of social and political reform.

The National Assembly, not satisfied with a statement of facts, proceeded to apply some of the teachings of Rousseau to the problem of administration. Human reason and nature were the gods of the revolution; they were exalted above the prophets of old. The religion of nature was placed above the Christian religion, and tradition was robbed of all its merit. It was decided to abolish all the old divisions in French territory, the provinces, *généralités*, as well as the officers attached to the administration of the local units. Since nature alone was to be worshiped, the new divisions were all to be named after

mountains, rivers, and seas, that is, natural features, regardless of historical development. France was divided into eighty-three departments, which were nearly equal in size and population. Equality, by the way, was one of the three maxims of the reformers: "liberty, equality, and fraternity." Popular sovereignty was another maxim, and the officials in the smaller units under the departments, called districts, cantons, and communes, were to be elected, while a new system of law courts was contemplated and the laws made uniform. This last reform, however, was not accomplished until about ten years later by Napoleon.

Perhaps the greatest problem facing the National Assembly was the question of finance. It was the deficit in the royal treasury that had caused the fall of the ministers of finance and it was this problem which had been the immediate cause of the Revolution. Everybody had hoped to see the Estates-General solve it, but, instead of increasing the revenues without levying more taxes, the session of the Estates-General and the meetings of the National Assembly in 1789 produced even less ready cash than the ministers under Louis XVI. Nor was this the fault of the members of the Assembly, for taxes were no longer being paid and the government had as yet secured no means of enforcing the collection of taxes. They were to assess new taxes, but in the meantime money was needed to carry on the government. Hence the Assembly resorted to drastic action, which can scarcely be called a reform. They seized the rich church lands and issued money called *assignats*, using the property of the Church as security. Henceforth the state was to pay the clergy regular salaries and in this way would remedy one of the great evils in the social system of France, namely, the prevalence of sinecures, and the practice of giving lucrative positions to men who did not deserve them. But another evil was soon to supplant the old abuses. As expenditures began to mount and real financial reform was not forthcoming, the men in charge of the government printed

ever larger amounts of paper money until in a few years the *assignats* became worthless.

Here lies one of the weaknesses in the French Revolution. It had been so natural and so easy to find fault with the ministers of finance, and to accuse the royal family of having through reckless extravagance squandered the revenues of the kingdom. But, when the really knotty problem confronted the deputies, they themselves mismanaged the financial situation, and besides, they took the liberty of seizing one fifth of the soil of France, which could not fail to alienate a large section of the people. The church lands were confiscated in November, 1789, and in 1790 the monasteries were suppressed. Henceforth the members of the clergy were to be elected by the adult males of the departments and parishes. In August, 1790, a committee of the National Assembly drew up the *Civil Constitution of the Clergy*, providing that the clergy were a civil body, to be paid by the state, and in January, 1791, the clergy were requested to take an oath of allegiance to the *Civil Constitution of the Clergy*. The pope forthwith condemned the latter document and commanded the clergy not to swear the oath. Hence only four bishops and a few of the lower clergy yielded to the orders of the National Assembly; 128 bishops and about 50,000 priests refused to swear. The latter were called the "non-juring" clergy, because they did not swear. They were now informed by the National Assembly that, since they refused to support the government, their salaries were not to be paid. Most of them, although they had been in favor of reform, turned against the leaders of the revolution, and sought means to incite the peasantry against the new government.

The next task the National Assembly sought to accomplish was the drafting of a constitution. It will be recalled that as early as June 20, 1789, the day of the Tennis Court Oath, the deputies of the Third Estate had agreed not to separate until they had framed a constitution for France. When in August,

1789, the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* was about to be adopted, Mirabeau and others insisted that the constitution should be finished before the former document was completed. But the smaller and simpler composition was given precedence over the constitution itself and was regarded as a preamble to the constitution; the latter was finally adopted in 1791, wherefore it was called the Constitution of 1791. The king reluctantly signed it; since his removal from Versailles to the Tuileries Palace in Paris, he had learned to acquiesce in many humiliating situations.

The Constitution of 1791 embodied some of the ideas of Montesquieu. The executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government, in accordance with the theory of checks and balances, were clearly differentiated. The king remained nominally the head of the government. He was to have a "suspensive veto," that is, he received the power to postpone legislation for a period of two years, with the result that even though a law had been passed by the legislature, it could not be enforced for two years if the king was opposed to it. The framers of the constitution were motivated by the thought of imitating the British system of limited monarchy, but they gave their king even less power than that enjoyed by the British monarch. His title now became "King of the French," instead of "King of France and Navarre." He was deprived of the right to declare war or peace, and of using the royal revenues at his own discretion. He still could appoint ambassadors, ministers, and some of the officers in the army and navy, but all these officials were partly responsible to the legislature. This was particularly true of the ministers, who countersigned all the royal orders.

There was to be one house or chamber which constituted the legislature, and was named the Legislative Assembly, composed of 745 members. Each member would be elected for a term of two years, and the whole assembly was to receive extensive powers, so that it would become the real govern-

ment of France. It could make war and conclude peace, assess and apportion taxes, and regulate expenditures. The judiciary system was also revolutionized. The manorial courts and the *parlements,* as well as a number of intermediary courts, were abolished altogether, and their place was taken by a series of courts, both civil and criminal, whose justices were all to be elected by the people.

The middle classes, in order to safeguard their interests, determined not to apply too literally the doctrines of social equality preached by Rousseau. They gave the franchise only to male citizens who were twenty-five or more years of age and who paid an annual direct tax equivalent to three days' wages. This provision deprived about 3,000,000 male citizens of the right to vote, while among the other persons who could not vote were servants, debtors, and bankrupts. The system of election was very complicated. The "active citizens," that is, those who had the right to vote, merely voted for electors, while the latter in turn elected the members of the Legislative Assembly and the judges of the higher courts. Only those citizens could become electors who paid an annual direct tax equal to 150 to 200 days' labor. There were only 43,000 male citizens who held enough property to secure this distinction, and thus it happened that the wealthy members of the middle class supplanted the old privileged orders in securing for themselves special rights. The workingmen in the larger cities and the peasants, who had done a great deal to make the revolution possible, were disappointed, but they lacked the organization necessary to overthrow the rule of the middle class.

Other changes introduced by the National Assembly in 1790 and 1791 were the suppression of the craft gilds; the abolition of provincial tariff barriers, which had impeded the free flow of domestic commerce; and the final dissolution of the feudal régime through abolishing all personal servitude without requiring in its place the payment of the indemnity, which had been demanded from 1789 till 1790. The jury system was in-

troduced and a new penal code drawn up, which eliminated such punishments as torture and the pillory. The number of bishoprics was reduced from 135 to 83, the new number corresponding to that of the departments, each of which became identical with the area of a diocese. Finally, the National Assembly devised a greatly improved system of taxation.

In September, 1791, the work of the National Assembly was completed. Only two years had passed since that memorable night when the nobles voluntarily had surrendered some of their feudal rights in the session at Versailles. The fall of the Bastile and the march of the women to Versailles had been the outstanding dramatic events of the past two years, but the reforms of the National Assembly had been by far the most important development in the revolution. Serfdom and feudalism had been swept away, the church lands confiscated, the craft gilds abolished, and the judicial system revolutionized. Gone was the absolute monarchy so ably reared by Louis XIV! And the *taille,* the tithes, the *corvée,* the cruel punishments and religious intolerance had likewise disappeared. Did any similar body of deputies ever accomplish so much in so short a time as did the National Assembly of the French people? If only the revolution could have halted right there, causing no further riots, no more bloodshed, no more radical changes, the French Revolution would have accomplished the task taken up by the great Turgot.

The Legislative Assembly and the Fall of the Monarchy

Most of the changes introduced by the National Assembly had met with the approval of the French people as a whole. The Constitution of 1791 had crowned the achievements of the assembly and it had provided for a new form of government, the constitutional or limited monarchy under King Louis XVI. It was expected by many prominent men and

women that the Legislative Assembly would carry on the work of reform, balance the revenues and the expenditures of the government, maintain friendly relations with neighboring countries, and spread the gospel of good will and peace throughout Europe.

But they were soon to be disappointed. Although much of the work of the National Assembly looked like sound reform, some of the measures carried through by that body aroused bitter opposition. The confiscation of church property had alienated the great prelates and the religious orders; the *Civil Constitution of the Clergy* offended nearly every member of the clergy; the king and the court nobles resented the encroachment on their age-long privileges and exemptions; to all of these classes the revolution seemed too radical. The *émigrés,* the voluntary exiles from French soil, never wearied of trying to stir up hostility to the new assembly. They wished to restore the Old Régime in nearly all details.

The king himself, notwithstanding his indolence, felt occasional twitches of ambition and resentment. Had he been a more aggressive ruler, he would have attempted to overthrow the National Assembly from the very beginning. He loathed the *canaille* of Paris, the half-starved mobs which frequently collected in the streets, crying for bread. He felt uneasy, and well he might, for in spite of the comforts of the Tuileries, his royal residence, he was virtually a prisoner. Mirabeau had advised him to go to the southern or western provinces, where he could rely on the support of a far more loyal section of his people. Unfortunately for Louis XVI, his sage counselor had passed away in April, 1791, and within two months after Mirabeau's death the king and his family decided to leave France and join the *émigrés* near the Rhine. After carefully disguising themselves, the king and queen traveled to the northeastern border, but when they had almost reached the frontier, they were recognized near the village of Varennes and were compelled to return to Paris. By showing themselves the enemies of

the revolution, they had lost much of the loyalty and respect the people had previously felt for them, while Marie Antoinette was now hated more than ever. The king and his friends, on the other hand, became more determined to crush the revolution. The clergy likewise resolved to stir up opposition to the new government. The parish priests, taking advantage of the influence exercised by them through their office as mediators between man and God, incited the peasants to rebel against the "instruments of evil," as the priests called the men who had framed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The *émigrés,* nobles as well as prelates, began negotiations with foreign governments in order to restore the social and religious conditions which had prevailed prior to 1789. Their activities on foreign soil were destined to have serious consequences for France.

Whereas the privileged classes and the lower clergy, together with a considerable number of wealthy members of the middle class, accused the National Assembly of having introduced changes that were entirely too sweeping, there were many other groups of Frenchmen who criticized the assembly for exactly the opposite reason. Their contention was that the National Assembly had not gone far enough and that the Legislative Assembly should at once adopt more radical measures. They had supported the National Assembly simply because they had expected relief for the poor and needy, for the workingmen in the cities as well as for the serfs and the poor peasants in the country. When they realized how the clever deputies of the Third Estate, who were nearly all men of means or talent, had utilized the assistance so freely rendered by the Parisians in the hour of danger (July, 1789, and October, 1789), and had failed to reward the lower classes for their services, the latter clearly perceived how they had been deceived. Their wealthy neighbors were buying up the property lost by the privileged classes; they profited by the misfortune of nobles, bishops, and abbots. But what had been done for the workingmen? Had food become more plentiful, employ-

ment more abundant, wages increased, rents lowered, or suffrage extended? It certainly seemed as if the revolution had merely transferred the privileges and wealth from the first and second estates to the middle class. Whom did the Legislative Assembly represent except the middle class and a few liberal nobles? The disappointed workingmen of Paris and other large cities swore vehemently to defend the rights to which they were justly entitled. They found ready allies among that numerous group of citizens who did belong to the middle class, but had thus far gained very little from the revolution and sympathized with the poverty-stricken inhabitants of the slum districts. Finally, a fairly large group of men and women had been touched by Rousseau's philosophy. They were altruistic enough to lend a helping hand to their needy neighbors and promised to do something for them in government circles.

The Legislative Assembly, which had taken over the reins of government on October 1, 1791, endeavored at first to conform to the political and social aspirations voiced by the National Assembly. During the following year, however, the new assembly came more and more under the influence of the radicals, who sought to apply the ideals of Rousseau. If all men are created free and equal, they reasoned, why hesitate any longer to carry out the scheme advocated by Rousseau? They managed to spread their ideas through the circulation of cheap pamphlets and of newspapers. Among their steadily increasing number were several fiery orators, whose stirring speeches had immediate effect. There was Danton, for example, a lawyer of great ability and physical strength, who possessed a powerful voice; like Mirabeau, he sympathized with the class below him. Then there was Marat, a physician, who edited a newspaper, called the *Friend of the People,* and who sacrificed all he had for the cause of social equality. Again, there was Robespierre, the most prominent figure in the French Revolution. He was a judge and had been a member of the National Assembly, where he belonged to a group of thirty

radicals. There was perhaps no man in France, certainly not among the distinguished classes, who was such an enthusiastic disciple of Rousseau as was Robespierre. He believed as firmly in the theories of Rousseau as the early Christians in Rome did in the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth when they gave their lives in the service of their Master. Robespierre may have been quite wrong, but there was unquestionably something ennobling and inspiring in his devotion to Rousseau's gospel. He believed sincerely that the new social system contemplated by him would usher in an era of great happiness and prosperity for the French people.

Robespierre was the dominating personality in the famous Jacobin Club, which had been organized by a small group of deputies of the Estates-General under the title of "Friends of the Constitution." In the course of two years the membership of this club assumed such proportions that it was recognized as the most important of all the radical clubs and the prototype of Jacobin Clubs in two thousand towns. Although in 1789 its members had been fairly reactionary, many radicals had joined it. Under Robespierre's leadership it became known as one of the most radical of all the clubs in Paris. Another famous society was the Cordelier Club, which was radical from its very inception; it had been named at first the "Society of the Friends of the Rights of Man and of the Citizens." Danton was its leading member; it became under his guidance the nucleus of the revolutionary party, which drew its platform from the works of Rousseau. There were many other similar clubs in Paris during the Revolution, but none were so influential as the two just mentioned. It is a curious fact that they were both named after the former monasteries in which their meetings were usually held.

The radicals formed the only party in France which was efficiently organized and ably led. Moreover, they were the party which most closely approached the aspirations of the Parisian mobs. The latter, as was stated above, were resolved

to secure some gains for themselves. They obtained free access to the hall of the Legislative Assembly, and, whenever the proposed legislation did not please them, they would shout and stamp in the galleries. The result was that finally they managed to intimidate the deputies seated below, and told them what should be done for France. It was the *proletariat* of Paris which now directed the course of the Revolution.

In accordance with a wish of Robespierre, the deputies of the National Assembly had generously excluded themselves from membership in the Legislative Assembly. The latter body was less radical than its predecessor, because the peculiar system of indirect election had permitted only the election of moderately wealthy and of a possible minority of very rich deputies; nobody without a handsome income could secure a seat. It seems likely that if the Legislative Assembly had held its sessions in a city like Bordeaux or Toulouse, events in the years 1792–1795 would have been much less disquieting to the friends of conservatism. In the early sessions the conservatives predominated, but after 1792 the radicals gained a majority. Three hundred members declined to form or join any political party and voted independently, although they usually were inclined to vote with the conservatives. The latter occupied seats at the right; they counted approximately two hundred and fifty members, and were named the *Feuillants* after the monastery where they discussed their political theories. On the left sat the radicals, named Jacobins, who were divided into two different camps, the one favoring immediate and thorough-going changes in the government, while the other was a little less radical.

The deputies of the Legislative Assembly were nearly all lacking in political experience. They wasted a great deal of time quarreling among themselves. Their deliberations were often interrupted by the hooting of the mobs in the galleries. They were also hindered by the menace of war. Most of the members were strongly in favor of a policy of aggression.

They detested the *émigrés* who were brewing trouble for France on foreign soil. Even the royal family wished for a war with the reactionary governments east of the Rhine, particularly with Austria and Prussia. Louis XVI reasoned that, if the latter defeated the French, they would restore the absolute monarchy; in case of a victory by the French, the king would regain some of his lost prestige at home. The conservatives in the Legislative Assembly were anxious for war; they had an able commander in the person of Lafayette; they were responsible for the constitution of 1791; they hoped to save the nation from the tyranny of the Parisian mobs. Finally, the radicals clamored for war because they wished to free other peoples from oppression by the despots and the nobles and to abolish the monarchy in France. In vain did Marat and Robespierre warn the popular orators against the dangers war might entail. Marat asserted that a victorious general might march his army on the capital and establish a military despotism, which would prove far more aggressive than the rule of Louis XVI.

The main topic of discussion became, therefore, the possibility of war with Austria and Prussia. Very little actual legislation was possible, only the most urgent measures were seriously considered. One of these was the question of the "non-juring" clergy. At first the deputies followed a tolerant policy toward the refractory priests. But, in November, 1791, it was suddenly decided that the priests who refused to swear the oath of support to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, were no longer to receive salaries from the state and were to be watched as suspicious characters. When the bill was presented to the king, however, he vetoed the measure, incurring the animosity of many political leaders throughout the country. Another problem was the treatment of the *émigrés*. The assembly promulgated a decree to the effect that all the nobles and prelates residing in foreign countries on January 1, 1792, were to be regarded as conspirators and to be punished by

death. Again the king exercised his right of suspensive veto, and again he aroused much antagonism among the people. Nor was the public ready to condone the flight of the royal family to Varennes, for well did they realize what the king would have tried to do with the armies of Austria in case he had crossed the frontier. Gradually the conviction seized upon the minds of many statesmen and writers that Louis XVI was a traitor to his country.

When war did break out in 1792 and the French armies met with serious reverses, the king was accused of having abetted the enemies by surrendering military secrets to them. The Parisians grew daily more insolent. On June 20, 1792, the anniversary of the "Tennis Court Oath," the royal family was insulted by a mob of turbulent market women and dirty laborers, who informed the king and queen in their own palace what they thought of their cowardly acts. But the latter were still unaware of the danger that threatened them. They solemnly protested that they were not in communication with the Austrians who were entering the country from the east, although they were constantly begging the enemies of France for military aid. Their duplicity resembled the acts of King Charles I of England, who in a similar situation was convicted of treason and lost both his throne and his head. It looked very much as if Louis XVI would experience the same loss.

The end of his reign was close at hand. On August 10, 1792, the Parisians, infuriated by the insolence of the enemies of France, suddenly determined to punish their ruler for his conspiracy. They broke into his palace, murdered the eight hundred Swiss soldiers who were guarding the building, and ejected the royal family from the palace. The latter fled to the hall of the Legislative Assembly, where only a minority of the deputies were still in session. The Legislative Assembly took prompt action. The deputies deposed the king, imprisoned the royal family in the Temple, and supplanted the municipal government of Paris by a more radical body of men. Further-

more, they distrusted themselves and created a provisional government which was to rule France until a new assembly would be installed. On August 10, 1792, the French monarchy came to an inglorious end. Shortly after that the Legislative Assembly ceased to function, and a period of anarchy followed till on September 21 a republican form of government, named the National Convention, took steps to restore order.

The War with Austria and Prussia

When the news of the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 reached the courts of the enlightened despots and the other monarchs of various European countries, the result was a strange contrast to the reception the works of Voltaire and Rousseau had received there. Even in Great Britain, the country which had been so warmly praised by Montesquieu and Voltaire, many prominent writers immediately took up their pens to denounce the leaders in the Third Estate. Most notable was the attitude displayed by the far-sighted Edmund Burke, who in 1790 published his famous *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Burke championed the cause of reform which was held in check by respect for the work of ancestors and tempered by a knowledge of the past. He argued that political institutions should be allowed to evolve slowly and naturally, as had happened in Great Britain. If the people, continued Burke, lose respect for the men placed in positions of authority; if they become discourteous to the women who grace the homes of the princes and nobles, chaos and bloodshed will be the inevitable result. It takes many years to learn how a country should be governed; if inexperienced politicians suddenly rush forward to guide the destinies of a great nation, they will prepare a reign of terror and tyranny. Burke was one of the few British leaders who realized that the French Revolution was bound to involve a large section of western Europe. He counseled Pitt to intervene in French affairs at

the earliest possible moment and so prevent costly wars in the future. But at first Pitt did not sense the magnitude of the menace that was foreshadowed by the events of 1789 and 1790. It was not until 1793 that the British statesmen became fully aware of the danger threatening from across the Channel.

In Russia ruled still the so-called benevolent despot, Catherine II. She was immensely pleased with the writings of Burke against the French Revolution, for she herself was one of those women placed in high positions and attacked by some of the reformers. She became one of the bitterest enemies of the Revolution, and, taking advantage of the war between France and Austria, annexed a large slice of Polish territory (1793). The rulers of Prussia and Austria, although they did by no means admire Catherine II of Russia, shared her view on the danger which the spread of revolution might cause them. The enlightened despots meant to improve the lot of their subjects, but they were diametrically opposed to democracy. They wished to elevate the people with their royal hands; they had no desire to see the people rise by their own efforts.

Few monarchs were so determined to suppress incipient revolution as was that Leopold who as ruler of Tuscany had made himself one of the most enlightened and benevolent of all the despots. When in 1790 his brother Joseph II of Austria passed away, Leopold became ruler of Austria and was duly elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Marie Antoinette, the wife of Louis XVI, was his sister. She implored him to send aid to her husband, who was being so insolently treated by the people of Paris, while she herself knew only too well how she was detested by the Parisians. Leopold II was glad to extricate himself from the embarrassing situation in which he found himself as successor to Emperor Joseph II, the man who had alienated most of his subjects by trying to introduce too many reforms at once. So the ruler of Austria was not slow in responding to the frantic appeals of his beautiful sister in Paris. Nor was it a difficult task for a Habsburg ruler

to become the enemy of the French nation. Again, he had just put down a rebellion in the Austrian Netherlands, where the inhabitants were strongly affected by the teachings of the French philosophers. He realized that nearly one half of the natives were related to the French by ties of religion, race, and language. Success of the French Revolution meant the annexation of the Austrian Netherlands by the French. At last France would accomplish what Louis XIV had vainly sought to achieve. That was also one of the reasons why Burke feared the triumph of the revolutionary leaders in Paris, and as soon as the French did proceed to annex the coveted territory they aroused once more the hostility of the British.

Another monarch who became the inveterate enemy of the French Revolution was Frederick William II of Prussia, who in 1786 had succeeded Frederick the Great. Unlike his illustrious predecessor, the contemporary of Leopold II was a man of limited will-power and of little industry. He neglected the magnificent military machine constructed with infinite patience by Frederick the Great. He spent a large amount of money on art treasures and mistresses with the result that there was very little left for the government. Instead of trying to secure for Prussia the political power which lay within his grasp, due to the difficulties encountered by the ruler of Austria, he allied himself with Leopold II, contenting himself with a subordinate position in the alliance.

In August, 1791, the rulers of Austria and Prussia issued a manifesto, named the Declaration of Pillnitz, in which they stated that the restoration of the monarchy in France was desired by all the sovereigns of Europe. The statement was as yet no threat of war, but it did show the French people what they might eventually expect from the monarchs beyond the Rhine. The alarming fact that war against Austria would involve also a war with Prussia should have restrained somewhat the desire for hostilities in France. Such a war meant the end of the policy pursued by the great Richelieu and by Louis

XIV, that of maintaining equilibrium, or a balance of power, within the Holy Roman Empire. But the members of the Legislative Assembly were not sufficiently acquainted with European affairs to appreciate the danger of war with the combined forces of Austria and Prussia. Besides, there were a number of events which fanned the desire for war into a flame. The *émigrés,* encouraged by the Declaration of Pillnitz, openly expressed their convictions concerning the revolutionary leaders. They organized an army of about four thousand men, which was to join the Austrian forces in the event of war. The German princes who sheltered the *émigrés* added to the hatred entertained by most Frenchmen for the Germans. The French government offended several German princes, by disregarding the rights they had retained in Alsace. They abolished all feudal dues throughout the province, depriving those German princes of the rights to which they were still entitled. Further friction was caused in 1791 by the annexation of Avignon, which was located in southern France, but belonged to the papacy. This action increased the antagonism between the pope and the French government, and it gave the ruler of Austria a pretext for attacking the irreligious French statesmen. Finally, the treatment received by Louis XVI after his flight to Varennes was such that the monarchs of central Europe could not fail to feel alarmed.

The death of Emperor Leopold II in March, 1792, did not alter the situation, for his successor, Francis II, reaffirmed the agreement made between the rulers of Austria and Prussia. More than that, the new monarch was far more aggressive and warlike than Leopold. He demanded both the restitution of Avignon and surrounding territory to the pope, and of the feudal rights of the German princes in Alsace. This was more than the Jacobins in the Legislative Assembly were willing to grant. They now had an opportunity to declare war against the hated Austrians. Their ignorance of international politics, their desire to spread propaganda, and their manifold illusions about

their own aims as well as about their opponents, led them to ignore the results of war with Austria. Mirabeau had fully realized this. He knew that they would confound liberation of suppressed peoples with conquest; he saw that the annexation of the Austrian Netherlands would involve another war with Great Britain and Holland. He had employed all his power of persuasion to make his countrymen use caution and deliberation, but his arguments were met by one of the radicals, who asserted with great eloquence and feeling that the great nations of Europe would not care to fight against revolutionary France; Hungary was ready to rebel against Austria; the Prussians had no money with which to carry on a war; the British government had "everything to fear, the impossibility of collecting its debts and besides the loss of its possessions in India."

When ignorance and passion prevail over prudence, as now happened in the Legislative Assembly, the results are apt to be serious. The French government on April 20, 1792, declared war against Austria. Little did the radicals know that the real issue was soon to be the revival of the struggle between Great Britain and France. Little did that group of leaders among the Jacobins who were responsible for the war know that their desire to overthrow the monarchy and to punish the *émigrés* would lead to their own destruction. Louis XVI lost his throne and a republic was declared, but the war with Austria was merely the beginning of a far greater conflict, which would destroy republicanism itself. In April, 1792, the French light-heartedly assumed that Prussia would remain neutral. They were rudely shocked when the Prussian king felt morally obliged to support the Austrians. They were to be shocked still more when lack of preparation exposed France to invasion.

If Frederick the Great had still been living, he could have taken Paris in a few weeks, but, fortunately for the Jacobins, the Prussians were not prepared for war, nor were the Aus-

trians properly equipped. The reverses of the French troops, humiliating though they were for the French government, caused no immediate danger. The Legislative Assembly quickly passed two measures which were expected to strengthen the government. In order to check the influence of the non-juring clergy, they banished them to the penal colony, and they gave orders for the organization of an army of twenty thousand men. In the meantime the enemies advanced on the frontier. Seeing how weak was the resistance of the French, the duke of Brunswick, who was in command of both the Prussian and Austrian forces, made bold to issue a manifesto (July 25). He said that his aim was "to put an end to the anarchy in France, to restore the king and nobles to power, and to reinstate the clergy." The French soldiers, he continued, who were captured by his troops would be treated as rebels, and, if any harm was done to the royal family, his army would destroy Paris. It was a foolish and insolent declaration, and the result was the fall of the monarchy and the end of the Legislative Assembly. Robespierre argued that not only was the king guilty of treason, but the assembly had failed to do its duty by not deposing him. Later, in the evening of August 9, an insurrection broke out in Paris. The king was suspended the following day and the Legislative Assembly authorized, shortly before it disbanded, the election of a National Convention by universal manhood suffrage.

From August 10 till September 21, 1792, anarchy prevailed throughout many districts of France. The French troops were commanded by Lafayette, but, when he learned of the insurrection in Paris, he felt thoroughly incensed and delivered himself into the hands of the Austrians. The latter had already crossed the frontier; they expected to reach Paris before the end of the year. But suddenly resistance began to stiffen. Danton had become a dictator in Paris, and he decided to intimidate the royalists by executing the greatest offenders. Only drastic action could save the government now, so reasoned Danton. In

a time of national danger all enemies of the people should be exterminated at the earliest possible moment. On September 2 a series of horrible massacres began which lasted for five days. Prior to the massacres a house-to-house visit had been ordered by the minister of justice, followed by wholesale arrests. About two thousand victims were butchered by veritable cut-throats hired for the purpose. Danton also strengthened the position of his party by introducing more efficiency into the army. Dumouriez replaced Lafayette in command of the troops. Many volunteers flocked to his banner, bringing with them immense enthusiasm, which was exactly what the French army needed. The skill of the veterans, combined with the fervor of the inexperienced men, produced a satisfactory defense. The duke of Brunswick was greatly disappointed with the difficulties confronting him on his "promenade" to Paris. On September 20 his troops actually were defeated at Valmy and, although he could easily have reversed the situation, he was not very anxious to advance with his Prussian troops, since the Prussian king contemplated another Polish partition. The battle of Valmy was a mere skirmish, but when the news of the French victory reached Paris, it caused intense excitement and great exultation.

The National Convention

One day after the battle of Valmy the new assembly held its first meeting. It had to solve several difficult problems. In the first place, the question arose, What shall be done with the king? Another question concerned the equipment of the army; then there was the question of how to preserve the reforms already instituted, to suppress rebellion within the nation, and to prepare a new constitution. The task which faced the National Convention was not slight. The treasury was empty; the royalists and the refractory priests had to be carefully watched; anarchy held sway in the provinces; the massacres

early in the month had made almost every prominent leader feel unsafe; and there was dissension within the ranks of several parties.

For a period of six weeks prior to the meeting of the National Convention, Danton and the municipal government of Paris had terrorized the rank and file of the voters. Hence it was no coincidence that in Paris only the radicals dared to vote for the members of the new assembly. Whereas one half of the members of the National Assembly had belonged to the privileged orders, and whereas the moderately conservative deputies of the Legislative Assembly formed a majority, the National Convention was largely composed of radicals. On the right sat approximately one hundred and sixty Girondists. They had derived their name from the district in southwestern France, the Gironde, from which most of them had originally come. In the Legislative Assembly they had formed a branch of the Jacobins and had exerted great influence. It was they who had met the arguments of Mirabeau, clamoring constantly for war until they had succeeded. Until August, 1792, their aim had been to overthrow the king, but when they had nearly achieved their purpose, the truth suddenly dawned upon them that his downfall would result in their own destruction. But it was then too late. Danton and the more radical Jacobins had supplanted the Girondists as the political leaders in Paris. The latter represented the interests of the middle class; they were in favor of democratic government, but detested the lower classes. Their opponents were the radical Jacobins, called the Mountain, because they sat on elevated seats to the left; they counted about one hundred and fifty members. Among the leaders in this party were Danton and Robespierre. In the center of the hall were seated a group of nearly five hundred men, named collectively the Plain. The latter had no firm convictions of their own, wherefore they were not conspicuous.

On the very first day the National Convention met, one of

the members proposed that the monarchy be abolished. The members had just been informed about the retreat of the Prussians under the duke of Brunswick. They felt jubilant, and having emerged from a month of gloom and fear, for which they held the king largely responsible, they now resolved to mete out the proper punishment to him. It was immediately decided to depose the king, and when the crowds outside the building were heard to clamor for a republic, the National Convention decreed that a republican government was to be instituted on September 22, the next day, adding that this date would become the first day of the Year I of the Republic. They hoped to establish a new calendar for France and possibly for the whole of Europe.

In November of the same year a committee appointed by the National Convention decided that Louis XVI should be brought to trial. A number of documents had been found after August 10 (the day when the king fled to the Legislative Assembly) in the royal palace, which revealed much incriminating evidence. He had become a traitor to his own people, seeking aid from foreign monarchs in order to overthrow the government in Paris which he had solemnly sworn to support. During the trial he vainly tried to prove himself innocent; his whole demeanor spoke against him. When the documents were shown to him he alleged that he did not recognize them, and when he was asked what he had done at various times he feigned ignorance or said that he did not recall the events of the past. Every member of the Convention suspected him of conspiracy, but when a vote was taken on the question of executing him, 361 voted for and 360 against execution. On January 21, 1793, he was beheaded.

Long before the execution of the king a serious quarrel had broken out between the Girondists and the Mountain. The former had realized too late that the end of the monarchy would mean the destruction of their own party. In the last hour they had sought to save the king; they had recommended modera-

tion when the radicals under Danton and Robespierre gained prestige by killing the royalists. The Girondists accused the radical Jacobins of having instigated the Commune of Paris to usurp power and affluence illegally and to have murdered hundreds of innocent citizens. One of their leaders boldly requested that Robespierre and the murderers under his power be brought to trial, but the other Girondists did not dare to follow him. They feared that they lacked the necessary means to carry out the threat against Robespierre. But they had already committed the error of issuing a challenge to the Mountain party, and at the same time they had to admit lack of inherent strength. Within one month after the first session of the National Convention, the Girondists had been defeated. It was the radical party which now took up the offensive, accusing the former of conspiracy. If they wished to save the king, did they not thereby admit their complicity with the royalists and the enemies of France? As a last resort the Girondists, in order to prevent the vote on the execution of Louis XVI, appealed to the people. The Parisians, however, were not slow to express their sentiment against the detested monarch. They increased their hooting and stamping on the galleries; they demanded immediate action; they intimidated a large section of the members; they wanted no appeal to the French people. So the Girondists were routed. Their own destruction had come.

In the meantime disquieting rumors of insurrection had arrived from the districts along the Atlantic coasts, from Normandy to the Pyrenees. The peasants, incited by the appeals of the refractory priests and displeased with the constitutional clergy, as well as by the fear of losing their sons in the war with other countries, rose in rebellion. There were also outbreaks by the middle classes in Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Lyons, and riots in the rural communities near the lower Rhone.

It became abundantly clear to the members of the Mountain party that efficiency and drastic action alone could maintain

the republican government. They proceeded to organize a number of committees which exercised almost unlimited power in their respective fields. The most important was the Committee of Public Safety, composed at first of nine and later of twelve members; the first committee was controlled by Danton and lasted from April till July, 1793; the second was dominated by Robespierre. The members deliberated in secret and were in receipt of secret funds; they issued orders to the ministers of state and appointed agents to carry out their wishes throughout France. They directed the foreign affairs and supervised the organization and equipment of the armies. To strengthen the power of the central government still further they sent out "deputies on mission." The first representatives visited every department in order to direct the officials who were drafting an army of 300,000 men (March, 1793). After the army had been conscripted, they acted somewhat as detectives among the troops and within the departments. They informed the generals that defeat was equal to treason and they were responsible for the execution of many defeated military commanders. Civil officials were also subjected to close inspection; here, too, many arrests were made and all officials executed who were suspected of treason. The "deputies on mission" had a tendency to abuse their great powers; their actions were frequently unjustified, and after a few years they were deprived of their positions. But in the year 1793 they rendered inestimable services to the central government.

In September, 1793, another important committee was created by the National Convention; this was the Committee of General Security, which, as its name implied, exercised police power throughout the nation. At their disposal were a large number of criminal courts, chief of which was the dreaded Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris. The latter was responsible to the Committee of Public Safety, and so was the Committee of General Security. Danton had suggested in September, 1792, that audacity and terrorism were the only means

of preserving the revolution. Under his influence the first reign of terror had broken out (September 2–7, 1792). The real "Reign of Terror," however, began in June, 1793, and lasted till the death of Robespierre in July, 1794.

The work of the various committees was supervised to a considerable extent by a man whose name is not often mentioned in the writings of contemporary chroniclers, but whose influence was as great as that of Robespierre. This man was Carnot, under whose guidance the great armies of France were organized. His executive ability and ceaseless industry, his enthusiasm and patriotism combined to render the French government efficient and powerful. He was both a strategist of the first rank and a capable administrator. In order to intimidate the enemies of the National Convention at home and abroad, he insisted on the execution of all "traitors." Although Robespierre's name is usually associated with the second Committee of Public Safety, it should be noted that Carnot was the soul of the real government from 1793 to 1795, and it was he who was largely responsible for the "Reign of Terror." As soon as the military situation improved, he ordered that further executions be prevented.

The first act in the Reign of Terror was the expulsion of twenty-nine Girondists from the National Convention (June 2). Only a few days later execution followed after execution. The victims were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris, and after a mere shadow of trial were condemned to die at the guillotine, an instrument named after a certain Dr. Guillotin, who suggested that cruel torture might be avoided by placing the victim's head between two posts, where a knife would swiftly descend upon his neck and kill him instantly. It has been estimated that about three thousand persons were executed in Paris during the Reign of Terror, while at least sixteen thousand were massacred in the various departments. Terrible were the punishments inflicted on those who had rebelled against the government in the outlying districts. From

month to month the number of executions mounted in Paris until in July, 1793, the average number was thirty a day. One must be careful, however, not to overestimate the proportion of the victims to the whole population, nor to imagine scenes of unending bloodshed in every street of Paris and Nantes and Lyons. The contemporary sources show that the common people daily went about their business very much as if nothing unusual was happening.

The first men to lose their lives were naturally the Girondists and the first dictator in Paris, namely Danton. Whereas the Girondists in 1792 had suddenly appreciated the danger of destroying the king's power completely, one year later Danton and his followers also wearied of vengeance. When he was convicted of profiteering besides, his arrest was ordered by Robespierre and he also fell, only to be followed in turn by his enemies, including Robespierre, who was guillotined on July 28, 1794. It must not be imagined, however, that only radicals were executed. Everybody who was suspected of conspiring against the welfare of the French people was liable to arrest. Even Marie Antionette lost her head during the Reign of Terror. Fortunately a reaction set in after the death of Robespierre. When nearly one hundred of his friends were guillotined on July 29 and 30, the death of so many bloodthirsty radicals thinned out their ranks sufficiently to put an end to their power. At last the moderate party gained control of the government. The radical Jacobins were shorn of their power, the Revolutionary Tribunal was abolished, the surviving Girondists were readmitted to the National Convention, and the local governments in the departments regained much of their lost prestige. Finally, the workingmen in Paris and other large cities were forcefully disarmed. The middle classes, threatened for two years by the tyranny of passionate and ignorant mobs, secured for themselves the fruits of victory.

The National Convention, notwithstanding the quarrels between different factions and the Reign of Terror, succeeded

in carrying out a number of marked transformations in social customs and political institutions. Being dominated until July 30, 1794, by the radical Jacobins, the members of the assembly passed a number of decrees which favored the lower classes. Not only did they confiscate the property of the *émigrés*, but many of the large estates were divided into plots of a few acres each, which were offered for sale to the poorer classes on very easy terms. In order to placate the workingmen and their families in the cities, a maximum price was set for grain. The motto of "equality" was applied to the clothes worn by the different classes of people. Long trousers, formerly the token of social inferiority, now were adopted by the wealthy. Noble titles disappeared together with the ornate clothing. Everybody was to be addressed as "citizen," and when Marie Antoinette was buried, her name was placed upon the records as "the Widow of Citizen Capet," since Louis XVI was a descendant of the house of Capet.

Much attention was paid by the Convention to the religious questions. In 1792, as was stated above, the non-juring clergy were ordered to leave the country, and about six thousand emigrated to England, while twelve thousand priests married. The constitutional clergy were scarcely more comfortable than their predecessors, particularly during the Reign of Terror, when their stipends were not paid, while most of the churches were closed. The radicals hoped to supplant the old religion by a worship of the state. "Liberty" was to be the new god. People donned red caps in showing their allegiance to the goddess of liberty. Liberty trees were erected in streets and squares, where the rich and the poor joined hands and danced around the pole. The tricolor of France, the rights of man, the national holidays, and the constitution became the new ritual of worship instead of the services in the churches, with their altars and crucifixes, the sacraments, the saint-days, and the Bible. Some of the radical Jacobins in 1793 entered the famous cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, and instituted the worship

of the goddess of Liberty, which was impersonated by an actress. Similar acts were perpetrated in other French cities.

The party in control of the government, however, did not officially approve of the new worship. Robespierre in June, 1794, presided over a ceremony, called the Festival of the Supreme Being, in Paris, in which he acted as a high priest and actually made himself look ridiculous, because he seemed to take pity on God and wished to restore God's authority. In September, 1794, the Convention declared that henceforth the church and state were separated and that the stipends of the clergy were no longer to be paid by the state. The chief reason this was done was because the government had no money to pay the stipends, and the thought that the state had confiscated the church lands and therefore owed the clergy some compensation, seems to have troubled the Jacobins very little indeed. In 1795 complete religious freedom was granted to all denominations. Marriage, which had been a sacrament, was made a civil institution, and registration of births, deaths, and marriages was entrusted to civil officials.

Closely allied with the irreligious policy of the National Convention was the adoption of the republican calendar, beginning with September 22, 1792. The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each, while the remaining five or six days were declared national holidays. Each tenth day was to be devoted to the worship of the Supreme Being, and all pastors who observed the Sunday were imprisoned. The months were named after seasons; one was the rain-month, another the harvest-month, another the snow-month, another the month of heat, and so forth.

Some of the measures passed by the National Convention were lasting and beneficial. Under Condorcet the nucleus of a system of free public schools was created. The metric system of weights and measures was formulated and applied throughout France. The beginning was made of a new law code for the whole country. National and departmental archives were

established for the preservation of documents. The Louvre palace was transformed into a national museum and the royal library became the National Library. The royal academies were amalgamated into the famous Institute, which was to encourage research in various fields. Thus the National Convention, in spite of the massacres for which it was directly responsible and of the mismanagement of ecclesiastical problems, achieved tasks which rank only a little below those of the National Assembly. The legacy of the worthless *assignats* and the confiscation of church lands, as well as that of war with several European countries, had been the result of acts performed by other assemblies. How the National Convention preserved the integrity of the French nation in the midst of domestic strife and insurrection and terrible wars, we shall now discover.

The War of the First Coalition

After the battle of Valmy (September 20, 1792) the forces commanded by the duke of Brunswick had retreated toward the Rhine. One reason why the Prussians had exerted themselves so half-heartedly in the war against the French, was the contemplated partition of Poland. The Austrians, on the other hand, refrained from further annexation of territory at this particular time, since the fate of Louis XVI was of grave concern to their ruler. Still the age-long rivalry with France added another cause of hostility. Before they were ready, however, to strike an effective blow at the French, the latter assumed the offensive, crossed the frontiers, overran Savoy and Nice to the southeast, some territory west of the Rhine, and the Austrian Netherlands. In December, 1792, the National Convention took up the very policy against which Mirabeau had warned. They mistook their own desire of selfish conquest for an altruistic attempt to liberate oppressed peoples, and now levied taxes upon the inhabitants of the Austrian

Netherlands and of the Rhenish provinces. When the natives of the annexed territory north of France voted for independence, they were rudely shocked to learn that not their own liberation but union with France was sought by the Convention. They were pleased to have the Scheldt river and the port of Antwerp reopened to navigation; they hated the Dutch for having closed this river in order to protect the trade of Amsterdam, and they had chafed under the yoke of Austrian domination; but to become subjects of another foreign government was not to their liking.

As soon as the British saw the real menace of the French Revolution, they remembered the warnings of Burke. France in possession of the southern Netherlands would ever be the enemy of Great Britain. The Dutch also became alarmed. The French immediately realized the animosity of the British and Dutch governments, and on February 1, 1793, declared war against both, while in March, Spain also received a declaration of war. The five powers against whom the French were now fighting formed what is usually termed the First Coalition (1793–1795); their war with France was an extension of the War of 1792.

It should clearly be borne in mind that the War of 1792 was the direct cause of the renewed struggle between Great Britain and France, and that this struggle was the continuation of a conflict which began in 1689, in the reign of Louis XIV. Although the men in charge of the French government presumed that the War of the First Coalition was principally to be directed against Austria and Prussia, they did not reckon sufficiently with the naval power of Great Britain. The same issue would come up again, namely that which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, during the Hundred Years' War, and in the reign of Louis XIV and his two successors, had caused many a French statesman to throw up his hands in despair. The French people would not learn their lesson during the reign of the Grand Monarch; they continued to direct their

attention too much toward continental victories, and when in 1792 they seized the Austrian Netherlands, they alienated the governments of two countries who were expected to have remained friendly. It must be understood that the French did not declare war against Great Britain and Holland because they desired more enemies, but because the British and Dutch governments felt disturbed about the annexation of the southern Netherlands, and declared this annexation an act of war. One of the greatest mistakes made by the revolutionary government of France was the neglect of the navy and the mistaken policy of subduing neighboring peoples on the Continent in the belief that conquest there would inevitably result in the defeat of Great Britain. Their illusion lasted until the very end of the war in 1815, when the British, at last utilizing all their resources, utterly routed the military forces of Napoleon.

The War of the First Coalition was not in itself a very important war. Great battles were few. The French, taking advantage of the slowness of the British in getting ready for military operations and of the distractions caused by the Polish partition of 1793 to Prussia, hoped to take the offensive. Lafayette had been succeeded in 1792 by Dumouriez as commander-in-chief of the French troops. But early in 1793 this able general deserted to the Austrians. Once more the allied armies crossed the frontiers and marched toward Paris. This time, however, the central government in Paris was far better organized than in 1792. The French troops now possessed not only unbounded enthusiasm and self-confidence but also able commanders. Behind the lines of combat the great Carnot prepared plans of campaign, drafted an army of 300,000 men, and finally conscripted the resources of the whole nation, making France in 1795 the first nation in arms. With the aid of scientists, who improved the ammunitions, and the great financier who had become minister of finances (Lindet), he was able to equip nearly a million men. Insurrections were ruthlessly put down in the various departments, the enemies

at home were cowed into abject submission, and the enemies abroad suffered serious reverses.

Victory followed victory. In Alsace, in Savoy, in the Rhine provinces, and in the Austrian Netherlands the French armies pushed back the allied forces, while in the south they crossed the Pyrenees. In 1794 four of the allied countries sued for peace. The king of Spain signed a most humiliating treaty, allying himself with the detested rebels who had executed his kinsman, Louis XVI. By the Treaty of Basel, the Prussian king relinquished all territory west of the Rhine, but a little later received the promise from the French government that France would under no circumstances annex Prussian territory on the right bank of the Rhine, and in a subsequent war would safeguard the integrity of Prussia. In other words, Prussia was to sit idly by when France should dismember the Holy Roman Empire.

Equally advantageous was the treaty made with the Dutch. They promised to equip French armies and to furnish troops and fleets of their own for the use of the French government. William V of Orange, their *stadhouder,* was forced to abdicate and fled to England. It marked the fall of the Dutch Republic. A declaration was distributed among the people to the effect that "the representatives of the French people wish the Dutch nation to make themselves free; they do not desire to oppress them as conquerors, but to ally themselves with them as with a free people." But before long the stupid Dutch "patriots" realized how they had betrayed their compatriots into the hands of swindlers and liars. As soon as the country was occupied, the Dutch had to surrender several rich districts in the south, paid an idemnity of $40,000,000 and suffered untold humiliations, besides losing all their colonies to Great Britain. If ever a country was hoodwinked into illusions of new liberty and happiness, that country was Holland. The name United Netherlands or Dutch Republic was changed into that of the Batavian Republic (1795–1806). Great Britain

Austrian Dominions
Kingdom of Prussia
Swedish Dominions
Church Lands
Boundary of the Empire
DENMARK
SWEDEN
FINLAND
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
Gulf of Bothnia
G. of Finland
Bergen
Christiania
Stockholm
Helsingfors
CARELIA
L. Onega
L. Ladoga
Novgorod
ESTHONIA
LIVONIA
Riga
COURLAND
Dvina
Copenhagen
SCHLESWIG
HOLSTEIN
HELIGOLAND
DANISH POMERANIA
Danzig
RUSSIA
BATAVIAN REP.
Amsterdam
MECKL'BG
HANOVER
PRUSSIA
Berlin
Warsaw
Pripet
UKRAINE
Cologne
SAXONY
Dresden
Prague
BOHEMIA
AUSTRIA
GALICIA
Lemberg
Dniester
Dnieper
BAVARIA
Vienna
Danube
BESSARABIA
JEDISTAN
Odessa
FRENCH REPUBLIC
Rhine
Berne
SWISS CONFEDERATION
Milan
REP. OF VENICE
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
Venice
SLAVONIA
Belgrade
WALLACHIA
Bucharest
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
Genoa
P
M
PAPAL STATES
TUSCANY
BOSNIA
Danube
BLACK SEA
Varna
CORSICA
Rome
MONTE NEGRO
Sofia
BULGARIA
Constantinople
Bosporus
ADRIATIC SEA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Naples
Salonica
ALBANIA
SARDINIA
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
IONIAN IS.
To Venice
GREECE
Smyrna
Palermo
Athens
SICILY
RHODES
CRETE
CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN 1795
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400
ABBREVIATIONS
L LUCCA
M MODENA
P PARMA
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO N Y

warmly welcomed the Dutch *stadhouder,* who placed in the hands of the British commanders letters directed to the respective governors of Cape Colony, Ceylon, Dutch Guiana, and the East Indian Archipelago, ordering them "to admit the troops sent out on behalf of his British Majesty and to offer no resistance to the British warships, but to regard them as vessels of a friendly Power." So the French, in destroying the Dutch Republic, greatly strengthened Great Britain; the Dutch colonial empire at that time was just the right market for British manufactures, while the amazing variety and wealth of tropical products exported from the Dutch colonies furnished the capital the British needed between 1795 and 1815 for the expansion of their industry and commerce. There is in fact a vital relationship between the end of the Dutch Republic and the development of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain from 1795 till the year in which Holland became actually free and regained most of its colonial possessions (1815). The sea-borne trade of Holland, which was still very extensive, also fell largely into the hands of the British. The latter benefited from the folly of those Dutchmen who accepted the "liberty" of the French Revolution.

The treaties of 1795 practically destroyed the First Coalition. The fourth country which terminated operations against France was Tuscany, a relatively unimportant state situated on the Italian peninsula. The kingdom of Sardinia, on the other hand, kept up a desperate fight, while Austria, which also had a stake in Italian affairs, decided to continue the struggle until the bitter end. The military staff in France resolved to send two armies to Austria, one across the Rhine through southern Germany, the other across the Alps through northern Italy. The former was entrusted to several experienced generals, who met with repeated reverses and could make few advances; the latter was commanded by a young man of twenty-seven, named Napoleon Bonaparte, who was lacking in experience but possessed enthusiasm, bravery, and skill far

surpassing that of the other commanders. In 1796 he crossed the Alps, defeated the Sardinian forces, and entered the Po valley. Sardinia had to surrender both Savoy and Nice to France, and now Napoleon saw his way clear to a contest with the Austrian generals. Although the latter had the advantage of holding almost impregnable fortresses in the district north of the Po and west of the Adige river, they made the error of dividing their forces, and they were too slow. Napoleon always emphasized the desirability of speed and of concentration. He completely outwitted the Austrians, who had to retreat toward Vienna.

In 1797 the Austrian government made peace with the upstart from republican France, who had bewildered the proud commanders of the Habsburg dominions. The treaty was signed at Campo Formio; Austria surrendered the Austrian Netherlands, Lombardy, and the Ionian Islands, but secured as a compensation Venetia, agreeing not to interfere in other Italian states. The only power which still remained at war with France was Great Britain. But the French did not take British resistance very seriously. True, they had been mistaken in 1792 when they believed that the British government would never take up arms against the enlightened and unselfish French people. They did not imagine, however, that they were now laboring under another delusion.

The Directory

In 1795 the National Convention drew up a new constitution for France, establishing an entirely different form of government, named the Directory. It consisted of a board of five directors, or "Directory," which formed the executive branch of the government; and the legislature, composed of two houses, a Council of Elders, of two hundred and fifty members, and a lower house of five hundred members; the former was to enact the laws proposed by the latter. Each year one

of the directors was to retire in favor of another elected by the legislature so that the term served by each would be five years. Since the middle classes had resumed power, the franchise was restricted to men who owned property and had lived in one place for at least one year. It was also agreed that two thirds of the members of each house in the legislature should be chosen from among the deputies already sitting in the National Convention.

Unfortunately for the French people, the Directors, who exercised very extensive executive powers, were nearly all men of mediocre ability. The only exception was Carnot, but he was obliged to withdraw in 1797. Furthermore, they openly encouraged bribery and corruption, permitting intrigue to weaken the central government. Conditions were such that only very capable statesmen could maintain the republican government. Although the war was continued with great success, due largely to the extrordinary talent of Napoleon, the Directory confronted unsurmountable difficulties at home. The *assignats* had been so greatly depreciated that in 1796 three hundred francs in paper money equaled but one gold franc. In the following year the *assignats* were declared valueless and only on one third of the public debt did the government pay interest. The revolution had not solved the problem which caused the fall of Turgot and Necker. The king and queen were dead and still there was no money in the treasury. Even the drastic act of confiscating the church lands had been nothing more than a temporary relief. Whereas Turgot under Louis XVI might have cured the real disease, the revolutionary leaders saw no way to restore the finances.

Once more, then, a grave crisis presented itself to the bewildered statesmen of France, and once again a desperate act seemed the only issue. In 1789 the financial crisis had precipitated the Revolution; ten years later a similar crisis marked the end of the revolutionary era and the beginning of military despotism, which was exactly what Mirabeau had predicted.

Notwithstanding the heroic measures of Carnot, bankruptcy once more faced the government. This time the people could no longer take a leap in the dark and hope that in some mysterious way money might be found without levying taxes. There was no monarch to accuse and to depose, no queen to condemn, no great minister to hold responsible for the excesses of nobles and bishops. Even bloodshed seemed no longer effective. There had been two great series of massacres, neither of which had been beneficial to the people as a whole.

In 1798 the Directors had been pleased to see Napoleon depart for Egypt, for already his fame had endeared his name to the people, and his services to France were contrasted with the corruption in the government at Paris. Napoleon had asked the Directors for permission to seize Egypt, for he reasoned that the loss of Egypt would sever the ties which bound India to England. The Directors, realizing that Napoleon could harm England little by seizing Egypt, saw an opportunity of ridding themselves of the popular idol. Before the English learned of the intentions of Napoleon, he left Toulon with a well-equipped fleet and an army of forty thousand seasoned soldiers. On his way to Egypt he seized the island of Malta and successfully evaded English fleets. In Egypt itself he experienced little difficulty in subduing the natives, but as for Great Britain, that country could defeat any general who left the Continent, for all the English had to do was to cut off communications between France and Egypt Before long Napoleon grasped the difficulties he had caused himself by crossing the Mediterranean. Although his Egyptian campaign opened auspiciously with the victory over the Mamelukes in the battle of the Pyramids near Cairo, he soon met with several disasters. In the first place, the British under Nelson practically annihilated the French fleet in Aboukir Bay; thereupon they proceeded to cut the communications between France and Egypt; and one year later (1799) the Turkish government issued a declaration of war against Napoleon for having in-

vaded one of its provinces. After Napoleon had marched northward into Syria, a Turkish army met him and presently compelled him to return to Egypt. The situation now appeared so precarious to him that he decided to leave Africa. He fled with a few trusted followers and after many harrowing adventures reached France in October, 1799.

From a naval or military standpoint the Egyptian expedition was a failure. But for Napoleon himself as well as for the natives of Egypt, it had important results. By reforming the assessment of taxes on land holdings and by establishing municipal governments in the larger cities he gained valuable administrative experience and improved conditions in the urban communities. Even more significant was the scientific aspect of the expedition. Napoleon's artistic temperament and his innate love of knowledge led him to take along a hundred capable scientists and artists, who made a careful study of the remains of ancient civilization in Egypt. They examined the pyramids, the obelisks, and the sphinxes. They pondered over the mysterious hieroglyphic writings, which had never been deciphered by European scholars since the time of Christ. Perhaps it was no accident, therefore, that one of Napoleon's officers found the key to the hieroglyphs in the famous Rosetta stone, which now reposes in the British Museum. Upon this stone were written three accounts in three languages, one of them being Greek, another, Egyptian hieroglyphics, and since these accounts were identical, the meaning of the various pictures in the Egyptian translation was at last revealed to an astonished world. Furthermore, the French scholars judged their findings important enough to be recorded in a work of ten volumes, which will ever remain a testimony to the genius of Napoleon.

The scientific phase of Napoleon's activities must seem all the more remarkable because in the year 1798 France was still in the throes of the Revolution and the domestic situation had become extremely critical. Because the French had annexed

the Austrian Netherlands and had transformed the United Netherlands into the Batavian Republic, a vassal state; because Switzerland was changed into the Helvetic Republic (1798), the Papal States into the Roman Republic (1798), and Genoa into the Ligurian Republic (1797), all under French domination; because Napoleon had created a vassal republic in northwestern Italy, styled the Cisalpine Republic, the continued aggression of the French had greatly alarmed the rulers of Russia and Austria. The Second Coalition was formed at the beginning of 1799 by Great Britain, Austria, and Russia. The British, now fully aroused by the duplicity of the French "liberators," supplied the Austrians and Russians with sufficient funds to equip large armies, and for the third time revolutionary France was threatened with invasion. Northern Italy was cleared of French troops and the new republic in Italy disappeared; it seemed as if Napoleon's first Italian campaign had been in vain.

Before Napoleon left Egypt, he had been informed about the inefficiency of the Directorate. He knew the time had come for a military leader to usurp the executive power of the government in Paris. He had sent glowing reports of his amazing victories in Egypt. He told of the work of the scholars who had accompanied him and had begun to decipher the hieroglyphics, thus furnishing the key, through the discovery of the famous Rosetta stone, to the marvelous civilization of Egypt. He, the man of romance and mystery, was about to leave Egypt, the land of romance and mystery. Had he not saved France in 1797, when the other generals were unable to crush Austria, and had he not struck a vital blow at England in Egypt and opened up a vast empire to French settlers? He was indeed "the man of destiny," the person who alone could restore the prestige of French arms, reform the finances, and create efficient political institutions.

Napoleon reached France on October 9, 1799, after having almost miraculously evaded the English fleets policing the

Mediterranean. He was welcomed with the cry of "Long live the Republic!" He was greeted as the political savior of France. One of the deputies from the departments in the north was so delighted with the return of Napoleon that when the news reached him he died on the spot. Two of the Directors, having grown disgusted with the corruption practised by the others, had decided to overthrow the government, and now they found the man who could execute the *coup d'état*. The most influential Director was Sieyès, one of the few prominent leaders in France who had survived the Reign of Terror. In 1789 he had become famous for his efforts to exalt the Third Estate. He was one of the fathers of the French Revolution, and he grew faint at heart when he saw the armies of reactionary Austria and Russia approaching the frontiers. He was now president of the Council of Elders. He asked Napoleon to surround the legislative assemblies with loyal troops. On November 9 and 10, 1799, Napoleon succeeded in carrying out this task. The latter appointed himself commander-in-chief of all the military forces of France and the five Directors were replaced by three consuls, of whom Napoleon was the chief. Almost immediately he concentrated all executive power into his own hands, and placed France under the rule of a military despotism. Ten years had passed since the National Assembly had met to give France a government by and for the people. The monarchy had fallen, democracy was to succeed it, liberty was to reign supreme; but, when the bewildered followers of Rousseau discovered that all men are born sinful, they lost faith in democracy, and prepared the way for that rule which at first had seemed the worst enemy of popular liberty, namely, the rule of the sword!

SUGGESTED READINGS

General Works on the French Revolution

L. Madelin, *The French Revolution*. The best brief account in English, if not in any language.

H. Belloc, *The French Revolution.* A very interesting book by a prolific writer.

R. M. Johnston, *The French Revolution.* A work of the old school, emphasizing the spectacular events.

S. Mathews, *The French Revolution.* A very good survey.

H. M. Stephens, *A History of the French Revolution,* 2 vols. Emphasizes political events.

H. A. Taine, *The French Revolution,* translated from the French by J. Durand, 3 vols. Hostile to the ideals of Mirabeau, Danton and Robespierre.

T. Carlyle, *The French Revolution.* A famous work but only because of its literary value.

H. E. Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe,* chapters VII–XIV.

C. D. Hazen, *The French Revolution and Napoleon,* chapters II–V.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

S. Mathews, *The French Revolution,* chapter XIII.

G. G. Andrews, *The Constitution in the Early French Revolution.* A source-book.

L. G. Wickham Legg, *Select Documents Illustrative of the French Revolution, the Constituent Assembly.*

E. Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France.* A famous booklet of merit, but marred somewhat by prejudice.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

H. E. Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe,* chapter XIII.

J. Bainville, *History of France,* chapter XVI.

F. M. Fling, *The Youth of Mirabeau.*

H. Belloc, *Danton.*

H. Belloc, *Robespierre.*

L. Madelin, *Danton.* Excellent.

The Directory

E. B. Bax, *Babeuf: the Last Episode of the French Revolution.*

J. H. Chapham, *The Abbé Sieyès;* an essay on the Politics of the French Revolution.

C. T. Atkinson, *A History of Germany,* chapter XVIII. Treats of Germany and the French Revolution. Chapter XIX covers the War of the First Coalition.

J. H. Rose, *William Pitt and the Great War.* A standard work.

W. T. Laprade, *England and the French Revolution.*

Source Material

F. M. Anderson, *Constitutions and Documents;* France, pp. 1–253.

J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History,* vol. II, chapters XXXV–XXXVI.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ERA OF NAPOLEON

Since the period from 1799 till 1815 was dominated so largely by Napoleon, it may not seem surprising that in the history of modern Europe a whole chapter should be devoted to his career. Even before he returned from Egypt he had captured the hearts of millions of admiring Frenchmen. But when he landed on the Mediterranean coast, after having narrowly escaped capture by the hated English, his star rose high above the French nation, completely dazzling all other luminaries. Before long it ascended still higher, as the Corsican conqueror trod upon the necks of untold millions of Germans and Spaniards and Italians. He became the greatest figure in European affairs and was even responsible for the War of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States. Before studying the history of Europe after Napoleon had overthrown the Directory, it will be desirable to become acquainted with the early life and character of this strange "man of destiny."

The Personality of Napoleon Bonaparte

Napoleon Bonaparte was born on August 15, 1769, in the city of Ajaccio on the island of Corsica, the son of Count Buonaparte and his wife Letizia. The parents were both of noble birth, but very poor. Being of Italian stock, they named their son Napolione, which name has gone down in history in its French spelling as Napoleon, while the name Buonaparte became Bonaparte. Just before the birth of Napoleon, the island of Corsica had been purchased by the French from the

republic of Genoa (1768), and after stubborn mountain fighting the natives had been subjugated by French troops. The French government, eager to conciliate the Corsicans, offered scholarships to the children of good families, and Napoleon received one of these. He studied for five years at the military school in Brienne, and the following year at the Cadets' School in Paris. Unlike most other boys of his age, he was shy and taciturn, a voracious reader of books of military science, politics, history, geography, and philosophy. He was subject to violent fits of anger, for he had inherited the blood of the fierce fighters of Corsica, who still continued the ancient family feuds. The games and pranks of carefree children did not attract him, for his mind was made for earnest study and deep reflection. The Spartans and the Roman soldiers seemed to him the greatest men of all time, for they possessed willpower, endurance, and heroism.

One dream of his youth was to make Corsica independent. He hated the French, and, like another Moses, he determined to learn the arts of war amidst the oppressors of his own people. Three times he returned to Corsica and attempted to seize the fortress at Ajaccio, but each time he failed. In the end his family was exiled from the island. Several years passed, in which Napoleon continued the study of military science, showed great valor, and, despite his treason, was promoted to the rank of Captain. In 1793 he took a leading part in the capture of Toulon from the English, and in 1795 he distinguished himself in Paris by dispersing a mob which had collected near the hall of the National Convention. Until 1795 he had been rather sullen and melancholy; at times a feeling of loneliness had oppressed him. But in 1795 he had, for the first time in his life, some money at his disposal and exercised considerable influence. He immediately began to reward his relatives with good positions, displaying a trait, so common among the leading families in Corsica, which he cherished throughout his career.

In 1796 Napoleon married Josephine Beauharnais, the widow of a French general and the friend of one of the five Directors. Two days later he left for Paris in order to take charge of the army with which he crossed the Alps and won the celebrated Italian campaign of 1797. Some of the reasons for his amazing success were his great physical strength and the enthusiasm which prevailed among his soldiers, who earnestly believed that they were spreading the gospel of new freedom. Furthermore, the years spent in studying the art of warfare bore rich fruit; Napoleon's strategy, as well as his military tactics, were far superior to the methods employed by his opponents. Again, his powers of endurance were such that he could carry on a task after he had become physically fatigued; where others would have allowed themselves to rest and to fall asleep, he knew the secret of using "a second wind." He did the same with his men. When they believed that they had no more energy left to march any further, he would exhort them and explain how they could draw on the latent energies of the body. So they would rise again and march another day without rest and sleep or adequate food supplies. Again, the character of Napoleon explains another cause of success. He had supreme confidence in himself; he was absolutely convinced of being favored by a "lucky star." Spiritual powers were constantly guiding him and infusing new thoughts and new energy into his mind and body, so he believed; and he frequently alluded to himself as "a man of destiny."

In order to understand fully the personality of Napoleon, it will be necessary to bear in mind that he was more than a great military commander. Victories on the battlefields were merely the prelude to far greater achievements. Napolon hoped one day to become master of France and later of all Europe. Like the Puritans of old, he believed in that sort of predestination which governs every act of man and not simply the ultimate salvation of his soul. He was not necessarily superstitious because he imagined himself to be in communication with su-

perior and invisible beings who were interested in his welfare and spurred him on to ever greater conquests. He may have been mistaken; if he was, he shared the errors of thousands of Catholic priests as well as of millions of Roman Catholic and Protestant laymen. But where he differed from nearly all his contemporaries was the degree to which he carried the application of his views. Whereas a priest may feelingly describe how God controls the actions of every Christian, the Corsican general visualized the spiritual relationship between himself and his guardians in the world beyond.

Napoleon possessed what is frequently named a magnetic personality. If one wishes to grasp the spell which he exercised over hundreds of thousands of men, one must not imagine that it resulted entirely from the way in which he treated them. It has often been said, and with apparent justification, that he was idolized by his soldiers because "he used to go to sleep repeating the names of the corps, and even those of some of the individuals who composed them." But although he did "keep the names in a corner of his memory" and recognized hundreds of soldiers, he ruthlessly sacrificed thousands of human lives to gratify his own ambition and yet remained in the possession of that strange faculty which as late as the year 1814 made a whole army desert and join his regiments when they beheld his piercing eyes and were touched by the magic sound of his name.

Napoleon believed that the three qualities which constituted his genius were self-confidence, energy, and imagination. He was not greatly mistaken, although there were certain other characteristics which aided him in carrying out his plans. He knew much about psychology and when he addressed his soldiers he took advantage of his artistic temperament, and with the gestures and speech of a born dramatist he enhanced the impression which his inner forces produced. He was not honest as a rule, practicing simulation and pure deceit with great regularity and frequently to his own advantage. His

great courage and will-power also rendered great services, while his rich imagination was perhaps the real cause of his self-confidence and energy.

For women Napoleon had very little respect. "The weakness of women's brain," he wrote one day, "the unsteadiness of their ideas, their function in the social order, their need of constant resignation . . . require much training in religious studies." "They need not study languages," he continued, "nor much history and geography; needle-work should be their chief occupation." His view on the value of religion was well expressed by him in the following statement: "Last Sunday I was walking alone when I heard church bells ringing. I felt quite moved by the sound: so strong is the power of early association. I said to myself, if such a man as I can be affected in this way, how deep must be the impression on simple believing souls? What have your philosophers to say to that? A nation must have a religion, and that religion must be under the control of the government. . . . People may call me a Papist if they like. I am nothing. I was a Mohammedan in Egypt; I shall be a Roman Catholic in France for the sake of my people."

How Napoleon regarded the problem of education may be gathered in part from the following remark: "I want a teaching body, because such a body never dies, but transmits the organization and spirit. I want a body whose teaching is far above the fads of the moment, goes straight on even when the government is asleep, and whose administration and statutes become so national that one can never lightly resolve to meddle with them. . . . As long as people do not from their infancy learn whether they ought to be republicans or monarchists . . . the State will never form a nation."

It has been stated above that Napoleon before 1795 had hated the French and had attempted to free Corsica from French rule. But, once he became first consul of France, his attitude toward the French people changed perceptibly. Even

during the Italian campaign of 1797 he began to identify his personal interests with those of the French people, and now spelled his name Bonaparte. He saw that a great opportunity had presented itself to him. France had passed through a period of radical changes in society and government. In 1799 it was without a master. It needed efficient rule. Its finances were in a terrible condition; after the fall of the great Turgot, of Necker, and of Calonne, the Estates-General and the National Assembly had failed to rectify the financial disorders, while later governments had done little better. One constitution had been followed by another and still there was no stable government. France, instead of having become the liberator of suppressed peoples, was surrounded by enemies. Anarchy broke out afresh almost every year; order had never been fully restored. And in 1799 another coalition was formed against France. Military disaster and financial ruin seemed imminent. What France now needed was not so much popular sovereignty, not democracy, not liberty; but order, efficiency, and victories. Hence the reason why in the year 1799 the French acclaimed as their political savior the man who called himself Napoleon Bonaparte, the "man of destiny."

The Consulate

Shortly after the *coup d'état* executed by Napoleon in November, 1799, a constitution was prepared for France, which superseded the Constitution of 1795, or of the Year III, as the French had called it. In framing the new constitution, Napoleon was assisted by Sieyès. It was stipulated that three consuls were to take the place of the five Directors. Napoleon was named First Consul. He and his two associates were to appoint a Senate; the latter body in turn was to institute a Tribunate and a Legislative Chamber, their members to be selected from a larger group of men elected by the people. Laws were to be proposed by the First Consul, while the Tribunate was to

discuss them and the Legislative Chamber was to vote on them. The Senate was to be a sort of supreme court. The First Consul received charge of foreign affairs and control of the army. He was the real government, the other two consuls as well as the legislature were employed by Napoleon to disguise the autocratic form of government he intended to introduce. The use of the terms Senate, Tribunate, and First Consul revealed his admiration for the Romans; he was now to realize his great dream, namely, of becoming, first a modern Caesar, and then another Augustus; first a First Consul and then an emperor, the ruler of at least half of Europe.

As first consul of France, Napoleon possessed all the executive and much of the legislative functions of the central government. In 1800 he also secured control of the local government. It will be recalled that in 1789 local self-government had been instituted. But, due to the inexperience of the people and their indifference, the innovation had proved a failure. During the Reign of Terror (1793–1794) the despotism of the central committees had largely suppressed local autonomy, and although the Directory had restored the communes, it remained for Napoleon to provide for a durable and serviceable system of divisions and sub-divisions in the administration of France.

Each department was to be governed by a prefect, and each *arrondissement* by a sub-prefect. The communes, or smaller units, remained in existence, and for those of more than 5000 inhabitants Napoleon appointed the mayors, while the other mayors were selected by the prefects of each department. It was not local self-government, therefore, that Napoleon instituted, but the control of the local governments by the central government; not popular sovereignty, but efficiency was desired by Napoleon, thus reversing one of the fundamental principles of the French Revolution. Rousseau was not his teacher so much as Cardinal Richelieu, whose *intendants* had done for the king what the prefects in even greater degree did for Napoleon.

Simultaneously with the solution of the problem of local government came the reorganization of the national finances. Instead of relying on temporary relief, Napoleon attempted to purge the whole system of taxation from the old corruptions, such as graft, extravagance, inefficiency, and inequality of rates. Since his armies were quartered on foreign soil and supplied with their needs by foreign peoples, they proved a much smaller expense than the troops employed by earlier generals. Again, the establishment in 1800 of the celebrated Bank of France insured the government against depreciation of the currency. The revenues were ample to maintain the French government in a period of far greater foreign wars than had ever been fought by the French before. "At the head of affairs was Napoleon; a man of indomitable energy and incorruptible. Men of the same stamp, energetic, diligent, bold, were put in charge of the ministries, the departments, and the prefectures. Favoritism was done away with, sinecures were abolished. Preferment was obtainable only by the efficient, and to them it came regardless of birth or party. All officials, down to the mayors, were appointed from above and paid from above."

The next problem Napoleon tried to solve was that of the relation between state and church. Here too the revolutionary leaders had sadly blundered. When fighting against real abuses, they had not comprehended the difference between ecclesiastical and religious conditions. They had realized perfectly that the privileged clergy were a disgrace to the nation and that there was much evil in the Church; but they had been too irreligious to understand that the Christian religion was not responsible for the ignorance, indolence, and selfishness of the abbots and bishops. Like Rousseau and Voltaire, they had attacked Christianity without grasping the meaning of Christ's teachings. In 1799 it became Napoleon's task to rectify another mistaken policy of the men who had directed the course of the French Revolution. Napoleon immediately suppressed the oath exacted

from the clergy and replaced it by a promise of fidelity to the Constitution. His belief was that without religion there could be no order. In November, 1799, he freed all the priests who had been arbitrarily imprisoned. In 1800 the majority of the exiled priests returned. About 6000 had been residing in England, where they were tempted to intrigue against the French government. In 1801 Napoleon made the following remark to justify his action: "At present fifty exiled bishops, pensioned by England, control the French clergy. Their influence must be destroyed, and nothing but the authority of the pope can do that."

Consequently Napoleon proceeded to seek reconciliation with Pope Pius VII. The result was the Concordat of 1801, which was ratified in 1802 and remained in force until 1905. It marked the culmination of the movement for Gallicanism, or independence of the French Church. The pope acquiesced in the former confiscation of the property of the church in France and in the appointment of the bishops by the French government, although he retained the right to invest them with their office. The state was to pay the salaries of the bishops and all other members of the clergy, but the lower clergy were to be nominated by the bishops, and not by Napoleon himself. The French government "recognized the Roman Catholic religion as the religion of the majority of the French people," and not "as the religion of France," as had formerly been the case. All the bishops were asked to resign their seats, so that Napoleon could exercise his right of appointment. There were 81 left, of whom 15 refused to resign, whereupon their seats were declared vacant. Approximately 10,000 priests were received back into the communion, and most of the married priests now left their wives in order to be reinstated. Calvinists and Lutherans were allowed to choose their own pastors, even though they were to be salaried by the state; Jewish Rabbis also received governmental support. One may therefore conclude that the French government accorded greater rights to

the Protestants and the Jews than to the vast majority of its own people. Religious toleration had come at last!

Another problem with which revolutionary France had coped in vain was that of codifying the laws. French law, as was stated above, was an inextricable labyrinth of old laws and customs, mainly of Roman and Frankish origin, to which feudal, provincial, ecclesiastical, and royal decrees had been added for a period of more than a thousand years. The National Assembly had compiled several codes of law, but none of these had proved satisfactory, because the followers of Rousseau, who were largely responsible for the new codes, did not show proper appreciation of the spirit of the French people. In their ignorance and childlike simplicity they imagined that in one year they could obliterate customs which had taken centuries to form. The National Convention had also grappled with this problem. Its legislative committee had first drawn up a code which was found too complex, while the next one was too concise; the second one did not allow enough room for incriminating or mitigating circumstances. A little later two more codes were drawn up, but they were also found wanting.

Then came Napoleon. He named three men to draft a better code, which was completed in four months. Their first draft was carefully examined by two courts and then it came before the Council of State. The legislative committee of the latter body held 102 sittings, many of which lasted eight or nine hours, and at most of them Napoleon was present. It was finally finished in 1804 and became law in that year. It consisted of 2281 articles. So exquisite was the choice of words employed by the associates of Napoleon, so great was the charm and simplicity of their style, so comprehensive was the material covered by them that this Napoleonic Code exerted much influence on the shaping of the laws in central and southern Germany, Prussia, Switzerland, Spain, and several states in South and Central America. The Civil Code was

followed by a Code of Civil Procedure and a Code of Criminal Procedure. All of these codes combined may be termed the Napoleonic Code, but the Civil Code of 1804 was after all the principal achievement of the law-makers under Napoleon.

In the field of education the First Consul also made great and lasting improvement. Despite the efforts of the revolutionary statesmen, French education in 1799 was in a deplorable condition. It seems that before 1800 not more than 25,000 children attended the elementary schools. Napoleon firmly believed that the French people needed a system of schools somewhat similar to their political institutions. So he decreed that in each commune public elementary schools be established under the supervision of the sub-prefects; secondly, a group of more advanced, or secondary, schools were to be maintained partly by private or public interest, but again to remain under the control of the state; thirdly, a smaller group of *lycées* would provide still more advanced training; and finally, the technical and professional schools and the universities would top the whole educational pyramid. All schools in France, primary, secondary, and higher, were placed under the supervision of the so-called University of France, which like the University of the State of New York in our country sought to maintain uniformity, efficiency, and high standards. Furthermore, in order to foster patriotism and encourage contributions to learning and art, Napoleon instituted the Legion of Honor (1802), consisting of fifteen cohorts with grand officers, commanders, officers, and legionaries. The rank of legionary was open to both soldiers and civilians who contributed to the honor and glory of France. The Legion of Honor was the only scheme of Napoleon which during the Consulate encountered serious opposition. However, it is still in existence today, and many Americans have eagerly sought membership in it.

Napoleon professed to love the French people. One day he

remarked with great feeling, "I have only one passion, one mistress: France. I lie by her side. She has never been untrue to me. If I need half a million men, she gives them to me." Many years later, when he felt death near, he said, "I wish to be buried on the banks of the Seine, amidst the French people, whom I have loved so much." During the Consulate he certainly strove with all his might to make France, like ancient Rome, the greatest nation in the world. Not only did he create new laws and political institutions, improve the finances, and the educational system, and lead armies to victory and conquest, but he also attempted to revive the French colonial empire. Had he lived a century earlier he might easily have succeeded, but in the year 1800 Great Britain had become so formidable on the seas that even the genius of Napoleon could restore the old overseas dominions no more. It was too late. What good did it do when in 1800 Spain ceded Lousiana to France and Napoleon's brother-in-law, General Leclerc, arrived in Haiti with an army of 25,000 men to seize rich colonies in North America? It was lack of sea power which had caused Louis XIV much bitter humiliation, and it was the same lack of sea power that first checked Napoleon's ambition and later resulted in his downfall. In 1803 he was fortunate in being able to sell the vast territory between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains to the United States for $15,000,000.

On the Continent, however, Napoleon found it relatively easy to defeat the enemies of France. In 1799 the Second Coalition had been formed by Great Britain, Austria and Russia. At first, it seemed that the French would lose some of their eastern districts, just as had happened in 1792, but now they had a military commander far greater than Lafayette and Dumouriez. For the second time Napoleon crossed the Alps and descended upon the plains of northern Italy, where he inflicted a decisive defeat on the Austrians at Marengo (1800). In southern Germany the French were able to win a victory under Moreau at Hohenlinden. Once more Austria signed a

NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
IRELAND
ENGLAND
Wales
London
Str. of Dover
English Channel
Amsterdam
BATAVIAN REPUBLIC
DENMARK
SWEDEN
BORNHOLM
RUGEN
HOLSTEIN
Hamburg
MECKLEN BURG
POMERANIA
Bremen
HANOVER
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Danzig
Königsberg
Niemen
RUSSIA
PRUSSIA
Warsaw
NEW GALICIA
Vistula
SILESIA
SAXONY
Bruges
Boulogne
Cologne
Rhine
HOLY ROMAN
Coblenz
Frankfort
Prague
BOHEMIA
OLD GALICIA
Amiens
Brest
Seine
Paris
Metz
Strassburg
Moselle
BADEN
EMPIRE
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
Vienna
Danube
Buda
Pest
Theiss
HUNGARY
Nantes
Loire
VENDEE
Besançon
SALZBURG
BAY OF BISCAY
FRANCE
HELVETIC REPUBLIC
Berne
Rochefort
Lyon
Milano
Campo Formio
CISALPINE REPUBLIC
Bordeaux
Turino
Po
Venice
Rhone
Avignon
Marseilles
LIGURIAN REPUBLIC
Genoa
TARMA
Drave
Danube
EMPIRE
OTTOMAN
SPAIN
ANDORRA
Toulon
Nice
S. MARINO
ADRIATIC
MONTE NEGRO
Florence
Ragusa
Cattaro
SEA
CORSICA
Roma
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SARDINIA
CENTRAL EUROPE
IN 1801
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300
Holy Roman Empire
Austrian
Prussian
England and Hanover
Danish
Swedish
French
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humiliating peace, the Treaty of Lunéville (1801), which was chiefly a repetition of the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797). But victories on land were offset by the naval feats of Nelson, who through the bombardment of Cophenhagen in 1801 broke up the Armed Neutrality of the North, the defensive alliance made by Russia with the Scandinavian countries. With France supreme on the Continent and Great Britain undisputed mistress of the seas, a deadlock resulted, which led to the Treaty of Amiens (1802), whereby Great Britain restored all the captured colonies except Trinidad (Spanish) and Ceylon (Dutch). The British agreed to restore Malta to the Knights of St. John, and Egypt to the sultan of Turkey. As for the situation on the Continent, they were content to concur in the Treaty of Lunéville. But peace was likely to be no more than a prelude to a more titanic struggle.

The rule of Napoleon from 1799 till 1802 was unquestionable very beneficial for France. Most Frenchmen felt profoundly grateful to him for having crushed opposition abroad and for the restoration of order and efficient government within France. The moment Napoleon realized the feeling of his subjects, he decided to assume monarchial powers. He knew history and appreciated the fact that the French people had never preferred popular sovereignty to peace and prosperity. He had made himself First Consul for a period of ten years, but in 1802 he intimated to his friends that for the sake of France his term should be for life. When the Senate did not appear willing to approve this amendment to the Constitution, Napoleon appealed to the people, who responded by a heavy vote in his favor. Encouraged by this, the First Consul, ever mindful of what had happened in ancient Rome, usurped still more power. And the people still showed no signs of displeasure. His salary was increased from half a million to six million francs. His birthday was celebrated as if he were a king of royal French blood. He had become in every aspect a monarch, but merely lacked the title. In 1804 everything seemed ready

for the last usurpation. The Senate, now no more than the subservient tool of the First Consul, decreed that Napoleon's office be made hereditary and that he be named Emperor of the French, and in a second vote by the people of France he again was supported. On December 2, 1804, in the cathedral of Notre Dame, he was crowned Emperor by himself in the presence of Pope Pius VII.

France under Emperor Napoleon

Just before Napoleon made himself Emperor of the French, a number of changes in Paris and elsewhere had forecasted the return to some of the ancient customs. The republican calendar, for example, gradually fell into disuse; the title of "citizen" was dropped; a royal court was restored at the Tuileries in Paris; many of the exiled nobles returned to Paris and were permitted to grace the court as in the days of old; and the Sunday worship was again widely observed. The generals who had served France well became "marshals of the empire" after 1804. Napoleon took immense pleasure in harking back to customs prevailing at the Court of the Grand Monarch. He wished to have Europe understand that his office was the revival of the Roman Empire and the magnificence of his court was to rival that of the Bourbons. In a certain sense he was a modern Charlemagne; he was destined to rule over a much larger territory than France and its neighboring vassal states. In church and school his subjects were taught to obey the Emperor as the chosen vessel of the Lord.

In France, Napoleon continued the work taken up before 1804. He extended the school system, added various codes to his great Civil Code, and zealously labored to increase the wealth of the French people. Splendid highways were constructed, many new bridges built, and canals widened, swamps drained, seaports fortified, and the cities beautified. Agriculture in particular was greatly improved, while industry and

commerce also flourished under the beneficent rule of the military dictator. It was quite in harmony with all his other policies that Napoleon was opposed to freedom of thought and of the press. He was ever fearful of conspiracies and plots to end his life or weaken his power. The press was censored and plays were carefully inspected by his agents, who were to take care that not a single passage could be so constructed as to disparage the character and policies of the Emperor. Pupils in the schools were taught an old catechism, containing questions and answers which showed how one ought to revere Napoleon I, the emperor. Those who refused to obey him were said to be "worthy of eternal damnation."

France did not fare nearly so well under the empire as under the consulate. The period from 1799 to 1804 was comparatively peaceful. In 1802 Great Britain had been exceptionally generous by signing the Treaty of Amiens, for it had not kept a single French colony. (Trinidad was Spanish and Ceylon was Dutch.) The English had even agreed to evacuate Malta. And so it happened that for a period of two years it seemed to the French people that Great Britain had ceased to be the enemy of France. The coronation of Napoleon in 1804 reflected glory on the French nation, for it was a symbol of French ascendancy and Austrian decline. Russia, Austria, and Prussia were content to let France keep the southern Netherlands and to maintain a ring of allies which were completely dominated by Napoleon. Surely, the French had much reason to feel grateful to Napoleon.

But how long would peace last in Europe when a man so ambitious as the warlike Corsican ruled in France and held the southern Netherlands? French tariffs were enforced wherever French political domination extended its sway, and English goods were therefore largely excluded from Holland as well as from Italy. English merchants actually preferred war with Napoleon to peace. The British offended Napoleon by refusing to evacuate Malta. When finally they demanded the

complete independence of Holland and Switzerland, the French government renewed hostilities (1803).

It seemed to Napoleon that in order to defeat Great Britain completely, he merely had to send an army across the Channel and conquer England. If only he could keep the English fleets out of the Channel for one day, so he reasoned, a huge French army could be transported from Boulogne to Folkstone or Dover on the English coast. The distance was very short. French armies were always invincible under Napoleon. The English were very weak on land. Therefore the task would be easy for him. But a navy could not be built in a few months. Perhaps the thought might have occurred to the French that the invasion of England did not imply the conquest of England unless France were supreme on the sea. Napoleon did realize the need of a navy, and in 1805 he was actually making adequate provisions for a successful invasion. In the meantime, however, the British formed the Third Coalition with Austria and Russia. The outbreak of the war with the latter two countries necessitated a change of plans for Napoleon, and the only chance he ever had of defeating England was now lost. Furthermore, the British themselves took immediate action; in October, 1805, Nelson's fleet completely defeated the combined squadron of the French and Spanish near Trafalgar. After the year 1805 Napoleon again harbored the mistaken notion of his predecessors, namely, that victory on the Continent would suffice, and that Great Britain could never fight and maintain itself against France, which lacked sea power but controlled half of the Continent.

The year 1805, then, marks the end of Napoleon's successful reign, and of his beneficent rule in France. It is true that from 1805 till 1808 he still won great battles, that he annexed a large section of the Italian Peninsula to France, and that in 1810 he even made Holland a French province; but after 1805 the so-called French Empire was in reality the Napoleonic Empire. The annexation of Italian and Dutch territories was

of no actual benefit to France, because they could never have been assimilated by the French. Again, the conquest of German lands beyond the Rhine diverted Napoleon's attention from the interests of the French people to the gratification of his own vanity. Well may he have said in 1802 and 1803 that France was his mistress, but after he carried his armies into Prussia, Austria, and Russia, he showed comparatively little love for the French nation. He was no doubt the popular idol of the French, and even today one will find portraits of Napoleon in many thousands of French homes. But as in the days of Louis XIV, so in the era of Napoleon, Frenchmen did not fully appreciate the value of naval victory. It was gratifying to see Holland become a French province and English goods excluded from nearly all the markets of western Europe; it was equally pleasant to reflect on the utter humiliation of Austria, on the downfall of Prussia, and on the extension of French frontiers far beyond the Alps; but was not all of this glory rather evanescent? Was there ever a human being who could have kept such an empire intact without defeating Great Britain first? Napoleon had challenged the British to a frightful duel; he had driven them into a state of frenzy and alarm; he could not any more hope for such a peace as signed at Amiens!

The War of the Third Coalition and the Dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire

In 1805 Napoleon faced once more the combined forces of Great Britain, Austria and Russia. Sweden also joined the allies in the same year. In Austria the feeling prevailed that Napoleon would not always remain invincible, particularly since Great Britain, stirred to increased activity by Pitt, and Russia, ruled by a new tsar, Alexander I, seemed far more

formidable than in 1799. The king of Prussia again remained inactive, despite the efforts of Pitt and the wishes of his own subjects, who felt that, after Austria, their own country would be Napoleon's next victim. Besides, Napoleon had promised Frederick William III the electorate of Hanover, which still was ruled by the British king.

The first important battle was fought at Ulm in Württemberg (October 20). Napoleon, again taking the advantage by employing speed, defeated the Austrians; the latter had marched into southern Germany in order to intimidate some of the states in that region which showed an inclination to join Napoleon. Instead of waiting for the Russian troops and so opposing the French with an adequate force, the Austrians again revealed ignorance of that other valuable principle, namely, to concentrate all available forces against the army of the enemy. The same thing had happened in 1797 and in 1800. At Ulm the whole army surrendered, and only a few poorly equipped regiments later joined the Russians. Once more, therefore, Napoleon had the pleasure of meeting but a part of the allied troops, and once more he won a decisive battle; this time at Austerlitz (December 2), where the Russians first tasted defeat at his hands. Before the close of the year 1805, peace was signed by Napoleon and Francis II at Pressburg. Austria ceded Venetia to the kingdom of Italy, which Napoleon had formed out of Lombardy, Venetia, and Dalmatia; Tyrol was annexed to Bavaria, and Württemberg was also enlarged because of the aid rendered to Napoleon; besides, both Bavaria and Württemberg were made kingdoms. The margrave of Baden received some territory and the title of Grand Duke. Prussia was awarded for its neutrality with the coveted territory of Hanover, but this annexation resulted in a war with Great Britain, in which Prussia lost a fleet of four hundred ships. In this way Napoleon continued the policy of the revolutionary statesmen of France, who had bullied the Dutch into an alli-

ance with them and so helped to increase the naval and colonial power of Great Britain.

In 1806 Napoleon caused still further reorganization in the German states by dissolving the Holy Roman Empire. As early as the year 1801 he had begun the task of reducing the number of states within the Empire. In 1803 the negotiations between the First Consul and the Diet of the Empire resulted in a document which was styled the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss,* or the Principal Decree of the Imperial Deputation, drawn up by a committee representing the Holy Roman Empire, and providing for the confiscation of nearly all ecclesiastical lands in southern and western Germany. Among the ecclesiastical states, only the archbishopric of Mainz survived. The purpose of the reorganization was to consolidate the petty principalities and many of the free cities, and to make such states as Prussia, Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden larger and more compact. Among the city-states only six remained independent, including Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck. East of the Rhine one hundred and twelve states disappeared, while ninety-seven German states west of the Rhine were annexed to France.

The Holy Roman Empire was little more than a mere name even before Napoleon became First Consul of France. Its princes could fight wars without consulting the Emperor, and in 1727 France had declared war on the Emperor, for example, while at the same time insisting on the neutrality of the Empire. In 1806 the time had come, thought Napoleon, to dissolve this peculiar state. In July the rulers of Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and thirteen others formed the Confederation of the Rhine, accepting the protection of Napoleon, and promising to support him with an army of 63,000 men. On August 1, Napoleon formally declared that the Holy Roman Empire was dissolved, and five days later Emperor Francis II humbly changed his title to that of Emperor Francis I of Austria.

The War of the Fourth Coalition and the Continental System

Shortly after the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, the weak-kneed king of Prussia finally resolved to end the neutrality maintained by the Prussian government since the Treaty of Basel (1795). He began to realize at last that his alliance with Napoleon had had very serious consequences; and when he comprehended the duplicity of the French emperor, who in 1806 was actually negotiating with England regarding the restoration of King George III's power in Hanover, he saw no other recourse but war with Napoleon. Most unfortunately for his country and for Austria, he mobilized his army one year too late to face the French on anything like equal terms. In conjunction with the Austrian and Russian armies, he might have been able to defeat Napoleon. Once more Napoleon was favored by good fortune. In October, 1806, he drove the Prussian forces from the field in the Jena campaign, and so completely were they routed that further opposition was fruitless. Berlin surrendered to Napoleon, as Vienna had done one year earlier.

During the following winter Napoleon found it undesirable to meet the Russian army. He waited till June, 1807, when he defeated the Russians at Friedland, forcing Tsar Alexander I to sue for peace, which was signed in a most impressive and romantic manner on a raft in the River Niemen, at Tilsit. The Russian ruler was highly fascinated by the personality of Napoleon, and he is said to have exclaimed, "What is Europe, and where is it, except it be you and I?" Notwithstanding the terrible defeat sustained by him, the tsar lost no territory, and merely agreed to exclude English goods from Russian territory. It was Prussia that had to pay the price exacted by Napoleon's vanity. Out of a part of Polish territory, at Prussia's

expense, Napoleon carved the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw, and asked his ally, the elector of Saxony, to rule the new state. The Prussian army was reduced to 42,000 men and only Sweden and Great Britain continued the war against Napoleon. Prussia was also deprived of its territory west of the Elbe river, where another new state was created, named the kingdom of Westphalia; it was given to Jerome, a brother of Napoleon. The Confederation of the Rhine was enlarged until

by the year 1813 every German state not yet annexed by France was added except Prussia and Austria.

It was one of Napoleon's most consistent habits to bestow favors and honors upon various relatives in proportion to the influence and political power enjoyed by himself. In June, 1806, he transformed the Batavian Republic into the Kingdom of Holland under Louis, his brother. Three months earlier he had made Joseph, his oldest brother, king of the Two Sicilies, and in 1807, as we have seen, his brother Jerome received Westphalia with the title of king. Murat, the brother-in-law of Napoleon, was rewarded with the Rhenish district of Berg, and became a grand-duke. In 1808 Joseph Bonaparte was made king of Spain, while Murat received Naples.

Although Napoleon was now supreme on the Continent; although his brothers had been exalted to thrones specially created for them; although Austria was humbled for the third time, and Prussia reduced to a third-rate state; and although the tsar of Russia admired him, the one great obstacle in his path still remained the naval power of Great Britain. Bainville, the noted French historian, has said that "Napoleon Bonaparte was burdened by the heaviest part of the revolutionary inheritance, a slave to the war of 1792, a slave to its conquests. Like most of his contemporaries, he forgot one thing; England had never permitted and never would permit the French to be masters of the Low Countries. To drive them out, no effort would be too costly for her. The Revolution had done nothing to change this long established law and the coming of Napoleon did not change it."

Little did it matter to the British that they incurred heavy expenditures, once they became fully aroused. In 1805 they finally reached a pitch of intense hatred for Napoleon and their leaders now became fully convinced that all the resources of Great Britain should be concentrated on the ultimate destruction of Napoleon's empire. The decisive defeat inflicted in October, 1805, on the French by Nelson's fleet at Trafalgar

had averted for a time the danger of invasion. But Napoleon's brilliant achievement at Austerlitz in December ruined the hopes of Pitt, whose subsidies had been expected to end Napoleon's military victories. In January, 1806, Pitt passed away, heart-broken as he was by the news from the Continent. And when in October, 1806, the Prussian army was annihilated, the leading statesmen of Great Britain realized that more than British gold was required in defeating France.

Napoleon, on the other hand, having trampled upon the defeated Austrians and Prussians, turned his attention to the ruin of Great Britain, which might be accomplished, so reasoned he, by an economic war. He decided to attack that "nation of shopkeepers" by depriving the British of their trade with continental Europe. It was his opinion that such an attack would in itself bring the British to their knees, since commerce and industry were the two main pillars of British prosperity. Had he but known that only sea power could defeat Great Britain, he could undoubtedly have met with greater success than he achieved with the "Continental System." Another important factor overlooked by him was the attitude of the subjugated peoples which were compelled to close their ports to British merchants.

During the consulate, Napoleon had already taken steps to injure British commerce, but the decree which actually inaugurated the Continental System was promulgated by him in Berlin, wherefore it was named the Berlin Decree (November, 1806). The ports of France and of the allied countries were to admit no goods from the British Empire, while Great Britain itself was declared to be blockaded. The Milan Decree of 1807 was still more comprehensive, stating that "every vessel, of whatever nation or whatever may be its cargo, that sails from the ports of England or from those of the English colonies or of countries occupied by English troops, or destined for these ports . . . may be captured by our ships of war and adjudged to the captor." The Decree of Fontainebleau, of

1810, ordered the confiscation of all British products found in the states under Napoleon's power.

The British government replied with similar measures. Pitt had died before the enactment of the Berlin Decree, but he had not left England without capable successors. Canning and Castlereagh ably continued Pitt's policies. In 1807 the British statesmen promulgated the Orders in Council, declaring a state of blockade against the continental countries which excluded British goods, and commanding neutral ships that wished to trade with the Continent to touch at British ports and to pay duties. Whereas Napoleon sought to prohibit the importation of British manufactures and to blockade the British Isles, the British government wished to allow no nations except themselves to trade with France and its allies. As for the neutral nations, like the United States, their interests were considered neither by Napoleon nor by the British. No country suffered so much from the Continental System as did the United States, and when President Jefferson was led to recommend the Embargo Act of 1807, trade between the United States and Europe practically ceased for a time. The enforcement of the Orders in Council by the British government finally resulted in the War of 1812 between the United States and Great Britain. It should be noted, however, that the American government would have been more justified in fighting Napoleon, since he was the first aggressor.

The Continental System was one of the chief causes of Napoleon's ultimate defeat. Although his decrees caused great hardship to certain classes of people in Great Britain, he was not wholly successful, because he was never able to enforce the decrees in all the countries of western Europe. There was much suffering in the continental countries, and such peoples as the Spanish, the Dutch, and the Prussians did not feel the desire of ignoring their hardship because of patriotic motives. There was an enormous amount of smuggling, because the price of tropical products and cotton goods rose to exorbitant heights.

Napoleon, in order to lessen the opposition to him in certain districts, legalized exceptions to his decrees, thus defeating partly his own purpose. The British also permitted evasions of their Orders in Council, and allowed many Swedish, Prussian, and Russian vessels to trade freely with the continental peoples. When Napoleon discovered, however, that his brother Louis, the king of Holland, did not enforce his decrees in Holland, he dethroned his good-natured brother and annexed Holland and some German territory to France (1810). For the same reason troops occupied Portugal, and he interfered in Spanish affairs by deposing the Spanish king (1808); in 1807 he annexed Etruria and in 1809 the Papal States. Wherever his high-handed interference extended, he offended the people, who were patiently waiting for the earliest possible moment to overthrow his despotic rule. As soon as whole nations were to rise against him, he would encounter greater difficulties than he had foreseen. In 1810 that time was not so far away.

The National Revolts of Spain and Austria

In 1795 Spain had become a vassal state of France, together with the newly named Batavian and Helvetian Republics. That the Spanish should so soon side with the French may not seem surprising when one bears in mind that ever since the War of the Spanish Succession the foreign policies of the Spanish government had usually been dominated by French diplomacy. But in 1808 there was a good reason why the Spanish people rose against Napoleon. Their king and queen, as well as the heir to the throne, were sadly lacking in those qualities which alone could insure sound and efficient government in a monarchy. When in 1807 Napoleon proposed to partition Portugal and give a liberal portion of that country to Spain, Charles IV, the Spanish king (1788–1808), and his adviser, named Godoy, gave Napoleon permission to send an army through

Spain. Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, was occupied in December, 1807, and the Continental System extended throughout the Iberian Peninsula. The royal family of Portugal fled to Brazil, which was still a Portuguese colony. Portugal had lost its independence, but, strange to say, French troops continued to pour across the Pyrenees into Spain. It soon became fully apparent to the Spanish that Napoleon wanted more than the control of the Portuguese ports. In March, 1808, King Charles IV felt obliged to abdicate in favor of his son, Ferdinand VII. A little later Napoleon compelled both father and son to surrender all rights to the throne, and appointed Joseph Bonaparte king of Spain.

This last act was too much for the Spanish people. On May 2, 1808, an insurrection broke out in Madrid, which had such memorable consequences that May 2 became the national holiday of Spain. In the same month of May uprisings followed in various localities and within a few weeks an army of 150,000 men had been collected to meet the conscripts sent by the French government. Both opposing forces were poorly equipped and inexperienced. The Spaniards, however, had a distinct advantage over the foreigners, because they were defending their own country. They inflicted a serious defeat on the French troops, resulting in the surrender of 20,000 men by the French. Joseph, the new king of Spain, was compelled to withdraw from Madrid one month after he had been crowned king. The British government, encouraged by the uprising in Spain, sent an army to Portugal under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who later became duke of Wellington. In the campaign which followed, the so-called Peninsular War (1808–1813), he showed the world that Great Britain could occasionally produce great military commanders.

In August, 1808, the British forced the French troops in Portugal to capitulate, and the former quickly occupied the whole country. With the assistance of the Spaniards, they ultimately freed the whole peninsula from French oppressors.

As soon as Napoleon learned of the disaster which had befallen the French troops in the Iberian Peninsula, he decided to lead an army in person across the Pyrenees. Great was the contrast between his experienced forces and the conscripts from Germany, Italy, and Switzerland which had largely composed the army sent by him in 1807. Before the end of the year 1808 he reinstated his brother Joseph in the Spanish capital and drove the British troops back to the Portuguese frontier. In the following year, however, he had to leave Spain for Austria, where another war had begun. The marshals left by him in Spain were confronted with difficulties which even he himself might not have been able to surmount. The poverty of the soil was such that food could not be supplied for the invaders; the climate and the unsanitary conditions in the Spanish towns resulted in deadly diseases among the French troops; the physical features of the peninsula rendered the tactics of the French useless, because guerrilla fighting was the only possible mode of warfare in the mountainous country; and finally, the Spanish were fighting desperately to regain their independence, while the troops employed by the French felt no great enthusiasm, inasmuch as a large percentage had been drafted from the countries conquered by Napoleon. Although for a short time the British were dislodged from many districts in Portugal and most of Spain was subjugated, in 1811 Wellington succeeded in freeing Portugal once more, in 1812 he ousted the French from southern Spain, and in 1813, with the support of the Spaniards, he cleared the whole peninsula of French invaders.

In Austria conditions also became increasingly difficult for Napoleon. No country had so stubbornly opposed the leaders of the French Revolution as Austria, and no nation had been so greatly humiliated by Napoleon and the French as Austria. In 1792, in 1793, in 1796, in 1799, and in 1805 Austria had borne the brunt of the alliances which had opposed the French. During the first three wars it was lack of support from other

countries and obsolete military tactics which had been largely responsible for the defeats sustained by the Austrians. In 1808, however, the Austrian army was reorganized on a more efficient basis, while the people displayed for the first time a real interest in the war against Napoleon. The cause of Emperor Francis I had become their own; they hated the French as much as he himself. They became the second "nation in arms" arrayed against the Corsican adventurer, and were soon to be followed by other nations.

In April, 1809, the Austrian government declared war against Napoleon, hoping that at last success might attend their arms, particularly since Napoleon was having so much trouble in Spain. They invaded Bavaria, but as soon as Napoleon appeared in person upon the field, they had to withdraw to Vienna, which city capitulated in May. Led by Charles, the archduke of Austria, they remained determined to continue the fight even after the fall of their capital, and at Aspern they actually defeated Napoleon. The latter was extremely fortunate in that the Austrians were not assisted at the critical moment by their neighbors and that their generals did not coöperate properly. Hence he was enabled to meet them in July in a battle at Wagram, in which he could fully utilize his superior qualities without facing overwhelming odds against him, administering a decisive defeat to the enemies, although not a rout as at Austerlitz or Jena. Austria again sued for peace and in the Treaty of Vienna (October, 1809) again lost valuable territory. Galicia was added to the grand-duchy of Warsaw; a strip of land along the Adriatic Sea, named the Illyrian provinces, was ceded to France; and Tyrol was restored to the king of Bavaria. Besides the loss of more than four million inhabitants, Austria incurred the obligation to pay a heavy indemnity, and was compelled to reduce its army to a force of 150,000 men. Pathetic is the story of Austria's premature efforts to overthrow the empire of Napoleon. Equally pathetic is the narrative which describes the subsequent attempts of the Tyrolese,

who vainly endeavored to free themselves from the yoke of Bavarian domination. Although they fought most heroically, they were finally subdued by the Bavarian and French armies.

The Austrian war of 1809 had almost resulted in a disastrous defeat for Napoleon. With rebellion in Spain and an economic war with Great Britain, he had nearly encountered more opposition than he could master. He dreaded to think of a time when Austria should again open hostilities. Perhaps it was possible, he argued, to prevent further war with Austria by bringing about friendly relations between himself and the Austrian emperor. He decided to divorce Josephine, his wife, and marry Maria Louisa, the daughter of Francis I. Josephine seemed unlikely to provide him with an heir and he wished to annul the marriage, he said, because it had not been sanctioned by a priest. There was no one who could frustrate his plans, and in 1810 he married the Austrian princess, who in the following year bore him a son. Napoleon proudly named him king of Rome, and no doubt visualized a great future for his offspring. This time, however, he had reached the highest pinnacle of power and glory of which a man of his intellect and character was capable. His empire was already beginning to totter. The Continental System and the national uprisings were already undermining the political fabric so carefully reared by him. The foundations were shaking long before he knew it. Vanity was still leading him on to reach greater heights when beneath his feet the foundations were giving away. Magnificent was the edifice he had constructed and "great was the fall thereof!"

The Regeneration of Prussia and The Rise of German Nationalism

Only twenty years after the death of Frederick the Great, the Prussian people had seen the arrival of Napoleon and his hated French troops in Berlin. Before the coming of Napoleon,

their state had risen to a position of first rank; their army had been feared by the Austrian and French and Russians as the finest military machine in all Europe. But as soon as Frederick II passed away, his army suffered from neglect and the government of his country lost that marvelous efficiency which had characterized the statesmanship of him who was justly called the Great. Frederick II had been succeeded by the sensuous Frederick William II (1786–1797), and the latter by the timorous Frederick William III (1797–1840). It must have been most painful to all patriotic citizens of Prussia to witness the dismemberment of the state which the Great Elector and his immediate successors had built up with infinite patience and care.

Not only had Prussia lost territory east of the Oder and west of the Elbe, not only had its army been reduced to 42,000 men, but the government was obliged to pay a huge idemnity, to support 160,000 French troops, and to furnish an army of 16,000 in case of war with Austria. Their seaports were decaying, their ships were rotting, their commerce dwindling. Tea, coffee, spices, and other tropical products were becoming scarcer every day, and it was all the fault of Napoleon! They were chafing under the burdens so cruelly imposed on them, for Prussia had never had any colonies, and never much industry, nor much fertile soil. For the Prussians the requisitions were harder to bear than for their wealthy neighbors beyond the Dutch borders and across the North Sea.

However, they could not deny that the French Revolution had abolished many abuses and corrected many social evils. As the influence of French civilization spread beyond the Rhine and entered Prussia, the enlightened statesmen of that benighted country quickly realized the need of reform. Greatest of all the Prussian officials was Stein (1757–1831), who in 1807 promulgated the Edict of Emancipation, abolishing serfdom in the whole state of Prussia, and extinguishing the differences between the three kinds of land held respectively

by nobles, burghers, and peasants. Feudal dues, however, were not abolished as yet, although all occupations were thrown open to peasants and burghers as well as nobles. Another important measure introduced by Stein was the establishment of municipal self-government, granted to all towns with a population of more than eight hundred inhabitants. The ordinance, passed in 1808, resulted in a uniform system of municipal government; it left the appointment of the mayors and the control of the municipal police in charge of the central government. Stein also made the beginning of reforms in the central administration,—reforms which after the year 1808 were carried out and extended by his successors, who replaced the antiquated boards of officials by ministers of foreign affairs, domestic affairs, and of justice. The various provinces of Prussia were placed on an equal footing, and the separate treasuries were consolidated. Stein and Scharnhorst completely reorganized the army by introducing a system of partial conscription, efficient drilling, and target practice; and by offering promotion to all citizens instead of merely the nobility. Stein was compelled to limit the number of soldiers in active service to 42,000, but by a system of rotation he and his successor raised the number of well-trained troops to 150,000 men. When Napoleon heard about the latter scheme, he secured the dismissal of Stein (1808).

Another great Prussian statesman was Hardenberg, who in 1810 became Stein's successor. He extended the limited conscription to compulsory military service for all able-bodied men; abolished feudal dues on condition that the peasants surrender a part of their land to the nobles; and promised the equalization of taxes, though he never enforced the scheme. Reforms in education were also begun on an extensive scale, thanks chiefly to the efforts of William von Humboldt, who laid the foundations of the celebrated common-school system of Prussia, and helped to found the University of Berlin

(1810), which for a whole century was renowned for its splendid type of scholarship.

Prussian scholars and statesmen, unlike the revolutionary leaders of France, were more interested in the welfare of the state as a whole than in the individual rights of its citizens. In contrast to such philosophers and political leaders as Rousseau, Danton, and Robespierre, they did not lightly break with past traditions and hallowed customs. They dreamed of reviving the ideals of medieval poets and statesmen, who had approved of self-sacrifice, of humble obedience to civil and religious authority, in order that the state might exercise full power over the subjects, and so insure order, peace, and prosperity. They studied with reverence the records of the past, not that remote past, before the rise of ancient civilization, but the medieval period. They read with glowing hearts the poetry of those great bards who at the end of the twelfth century had produced a wealth of beautiful literature.

Near Prussia, in Saxony, and further south and west, lived Schiller (1759–1805) and Goethe (1749–1832), who were not ashamed of their vernacular, as Frederick the Great had been. Schiller, in particular, aroused the dormant feelings of patriotism in the hearts of his countrymen, while Goethe, the author of the immortal *Faust,* contributed liberally to contemporary German drama. Another inspiring writer was Fichte (1762–1814), a professor at Berlin, whose *Addresses to the German Nation,* delivered in that terrible year 1807–1808, aroused a widespread desire to see Germany united once more. Patriotic societies were founded throughout central Germany, and national pride was fostered in the breasts of thousands. There were also great scholars, who in profundity of thought easily ranked with Voltaire and Rousseau. There was Kant (1724–1804), for example, a professor in the University of Königsberg, whose celebrated *Critique of Pure Reason* is one of the masterpieces in the whole realm of philosophy. Still

greater than Kant was Hegel (1770–1831), who is considered by many authorities the greatest of all modern philosophers, and who is noted for his contributions to the philosophy of history. His brilliant interpretations of the civilizations of ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome, and of medieval and modern nations fired the imagination of many thousands of German readers, who believed with him that German "Kultur" was to be the zenith of human endeavor.

The Fall of the Napoleonic Empire

After the Treaty of Tilsit (1807), which was supposed to divide Europe between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander I of Russia, the relations between the two emperors had become ever more strained. The Russian ruler soon discovered that Napoleon was not nearly so generous as he had appeared at that memorable meeting on the raft on the Niemen river, where Alexander had expressed warm admiration for Napoleon. Russia was to serve merely as a tool in ruining Great Britain, and the latter country had promptly taken retaliatory measures. Russian exports in wheat and timber had greatly declined and the Russian ruble had become depreciated to one fourth its former value. It displeased the tsar to observe that, because Sweden was an ally of France and presumably of Russia, he could not extend the Russian frontier to the northwest. To witness the revival of a Polish state, although under a new name, greatly disturbed him, particularly when in 1809 it had become enlarged by the annexation of Galicia. On the southern frontier of Russia his plans of conquest were frustrated by French diplomacy, which helped to prolong the war between Russia and Turkey. The British were clever enough to take advantage of this situation, and it was largely through their mediation that Russia was enabled to annex the territory up to the Pruth river. Little wonder that the Russian ruler felt more and more dissatisfied with the policies of Na-

ARCTIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
ICELAND
FAROE IS.
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
DENMARK
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
GREAT BRITAIN
ENGLAND
WALES
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA
GRAND DUCHY OF WARSAW
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES
KM. OF ITALY
KM. OF NAPLES
KM. OF SICILY
KM. OF SARDINIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
PORTUGAL
KINGDOM OF SPAIN
ANDORRA
BALEARIC IS.
CORSICA
MONTE NEGRO
IONIAN IS (Fr. to 1814)
(Br. from 1809)
GIBRALTAR (Br.)
MALTA
Melilla (Sp.)
Tornea
Uleaborg
Umea
Gulf of Bothnia
L. Ladoga
Helsingfors
Abo
St. Petersburg
Reval
G. of Finland
Stockholm
Christiania
Bergen
Christiansand
Riga
Libau
Memel
Tilsit
Vilna
Friedland
Konigsberg
Copenhagen
Grodno
Pinsk
Lublin
Lemberg
Cracow
Breslau
Dresden
Leipsig
Berlin
Hamburg
Thorn
Bremen
Amsterdam
Birmingham
Liverpool
Dublin
Cork
London
Dover
Portsmouth
Plymouth
English Channel
Brussels
Waterloo
Jena
Austerlitz
Frankfort
Mainz
Amiens
Paris
Cherbourg
Brest
Orleans
Loire
Nantes
Bay of Biscay
Stuttgart
Vienna
Pressburg
BudaPest
Temesvar
HUNGARY
Bucharest
Danube
Belgrade
Sofia
Salonica
Berne
Geneva
Milan
Po
Marengo
Nice
Bordeaux
San Sebastian
Toulouse
Bayonne
Oporto
Duero
Lisbon
Madrid
Valencia
Cordova
Cadiz
Trafalgar
Tangier
Cartagena
Barcelona
Marseilles
Toulon
Elba
Rome
Naples
Brindisi
Corfu (Fr. to 1814)
Athens
Palermo
Cagliari
Algiers
Tunis
EUROPE IN 1810
UNDER NAPOLEON
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400
France in 1799
French acquisitions under Napoleon
Dependant States
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO N Y

poleon and drew ever nearer the British side. It grieved him to see his people suffer as a result of the Continental System which after all was Napoleon's doing. So he decided to mobilize his army on the western frontier of Russia, in preparation for a war with his recent ally (1811).

In 1812 war broke out in earnest. Napoleon marched across the plains of northern Germany with an army of about 500,000 men, consisting of Frenchmen, Prussians, Bavarians, Italians, Poles, Dutchmen, Danes, and so forth. Alexander I made counter preparations for the mighty conflict. The British assisted him in making peace with Turkey, and they helped to induce the Swedes to attack the French, holding out to Sweden the annexation of Norway. An army of 400,000 Russians, under the command of General Kutusov, moved westward to meet the troops of Napoleon.

At the end of June, Napoleon crossed the river Niemen and entered Russia, hoping soon to engage the Russian army in a great battle, to win a decisive victory, and then to force the tsar to sue for peace. Such had always been his experience in similar cases. But in 1812 he had to reckon with an entirely different foe. The Russian commanders, realizing fully the risk of offering battle to the redoubtable Napoleon, and being thoroughly familiar with the immense plains between Poland and Moscow, deliberately withdrew into the interior of Russia, much to the chagrin of Napoleon, who unwillingly pursued them. He had expected a friendly reception by the Lithuanians, who lived in the eastern provinces of Poland, but he discovered that they were in no mood to befriend him. Instead of spending the winter in Lithuania, therefore, he decided to move further eastward, with the object of reaching Moscow before winter made further progress impossible. Early in September the Russians finally made a stand at Borodino, and although they were unable to defeat the French, they inflicted serious losses on the invaders. Already more than half of Napoleon's troops had perished. Starvation, fatigue, and disease decimated

their ranks. Russia, unlike Austria, Italy, and Germany, was so sparsely settled that the soil provided but a small portion of Napoleon's needs. When in the middle of September his army entered Moscow, he had only 100,000 soldiers left.

Moscow was to be his winter quarters, and Tsar Alexander I, having lost the ancient capital of Russia, would no doubt be glad to make peace before spring. How rudely was Napoleon shocked, however, when on the day after his arrival in Moscow, a fire broke out which destroyed the larger part of the city. Although the disappointed Napoleon immediately grasped the nature of this disaster, as it deprived him of suitable winter quarters, he lingered for five weeks, hoping against hope that the messenger he had sent to the tsar would return with tidings of peace. When at last Napoleon did turn back to the western frontier, fall had set in, with the terrible Russian winter close behind. It was with heavy hearts and empty stomachs, with insufficient supplies of every kind that the remnant of Napoleon's magnificent army returned to Germany. In the meantime news had reached Napoleon concerning the brilliant victories achieved by Wellington in Spain, while at Paris a plot had been hatched to overthrow his rule.

Perilous had been the march to Moscow; ghastly was the retreat. Unspeakable were the sufferings of the men who had been dragged from their homes in distant countries to gratify the whim of a vain emperor. And in 1812 this emperor was no longer the same far-sighted military commander who had led French armies to victory at Marengo and Austerlitz. His march to Moscow had been a strategic blunder, and his expectations of peace offered by the Russian government had been founded on faulty calculations. His return to Prussia was nearly as hazardous as was the journey from Egypt in 1799; only he could not this time deceive the French with reports of great victories. They knew the truth long before he crossed the frontier of Prussia with the 25,000 men who had survived the horrors of retreat through a hostile country, beset by a

relentless enemy, harassed by frost and hunger, and depressed by the knowledge of utter failure. Leaving the disorganized troops in charge of Marshal Ney, Napoleon hastened to Paris, where a conspiracy against him had been frustrated, but where his presence was urgently needed.

The French were still loyal to Napoleon. The Austrians, who had provided a small contingent of soldiers for the Russian campaign, because of the marriage of princess Maria Louisa, were as yet unwilling to rise against her husband. For a moment the Russian ruler hesitated. After Napoleon's inglorious retreat, he could no doubt secure a treaty with the French emperor on most advantageous terms, but Stein, the Prussian minister, who after his dismissal had joined the Russian staff, persuaded Alexander I to remain hostile. It was Stein who in the summer and fall of 1812 had cautioned the tsar against signing a peace with Napoleon, and it was Stein who early in 1813 dissuaded Alexander from seeking any diplomatic gain except through the ruin of Napoleon. Russia, therefore, continued the war against Napoleon. Sweden did likewise. Prussia was also ready for another war. General Yorck, the commander of the Prussian troops, had deserted Napoleon's forces on December, 1812, and he was easily induced to remain in arms on the side of Russia. Frederick William III, the timid king of Prussia, perceived that his people were anxious for revenge, and in March, 1813, he declared war against France. Holland also bestirred itself to overthrow the hated government of Napoleon. At last whole nations were arrayed against the Corsican adventurer, and the great War of Liberation had begun.

In the meantime Napoleon collected another army from southern Italy, southern Germany, and France. The size of the new army was only 200,000 men, or about one half of what he had hoped to secure. However, he had won important battles with much smaller armies, and with his customary vigor and speed, he rushed into central Germany, where in May he

won two battles, but was unable to rout the Prussians and Russians. Shortly after the second battle the Austrians arranged for an armistice. It was proposed by Austria and the enemies of Napoleon that Prussia and Austria receive some of their lost provinces and that the Confederation of the Rhine be dissolved. But Napoleon would not listen. He had so often expanded his empire before; and now, after two recent victories, he saw no reason why he should surrender valuable territory. What Napoleon was merely waiting for was reënforcements from France and Italy. They came, but other troops for the enemy also arrived, greatly outnumbering the recruits obtained by Napoleon. The longer he waited, the stronger the Prussian and Russian forces became, and, worse than that, the Austrian government, offended by the rude rejection of its mediation, sided with the allies. Again, the decisive victory won by Wellington at Vittoria (June, 1813) freed northern Spain from French occupation. Now the fate of Napoleon was sealed.

The War of Liberation culminated in the battle at Leipzig, which raged for three days (October 16–19), and was named the Battle of the Nations. Napoleon was badly beaten, and had to order a hasty retreat; early in November he returned to France for the second time as a defeated general. With the loss of military prowess came political decline. The Confederation of the Rhine was dissolved, Denmark ceded Norway to Sweden, Holland regained its independence, Prussia extended its frontiers, the kingdom of Westphalia collapsed, and Austria recovered most of its lost provinces. Once more Austria proposed peace on most favorable terms to Napoleon, offering France the left bank of the Rhine, but again the misguided emperor deluded himself into the belief that he could still overwhelm the combined forces of Prussia, Austria, and Russia. The war dragged on for nearly six months more. Napoleon remained resolute even when the allies invaded France. But so were the statesmen of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia,

and Russia. Converging upon the heart of France from five different directions, the armies of the great coalition poured across the French frontiers. From the east came Blücher with German troops; from the south the British entered France under Wellington; through southern Germany an Austrian army advanced and crossed the Rhine near Basel; and in the Netherlands, Bernadotte, the crown-prince of Sweden, was collecting forces composed of Swedes, Prussians, and Dutchmen, with which to strike a blow at Napoleon on the northern frontier. But the latter, undaunted by the increasing number of his enemies, exhibited almost superhuman resourcefulness during the first two months of 1814, first dashing with lightning rapidity against one invading army, then against another. His marvelous strategy so confounded the British and Austrians and Prussians that they would gladly have made peace, permitting France to retain the west bank of the Rhine. But Napoleon trusted too much in his skill as a strategist and believed that in the end he would regain his lost empire.

The allies were equally determined to continue the struggle when they learned the nature of Napoleon's ambition. On March 1, the four chief allies concluded the Treaty of Chaumont, agreeing not to stop fighting until the hated Napoleon was overthrown, nor to make a separate peace. At the end of March, Paris capitulated, and two weeks later Napoleon did sign a treaty, but one most disagreeable to himself. He had gambled and had lost; having staked all, he lost all. Not only did he relinquish all rights to the French throne for himself and his family, but he was exiled to the island of Elba in the Mediterranean Sea. Maria Louisa, his wife, received the duchy of Parma in Italy. A pension of two million francs a year was granted him, and the members of his family were to have another two and a half million. Thus ended the Napoleonic Empire, reared by military power and destroyed by military power. And across the sea, near Tuscany, went Napoleon, still clinging with a gambler's hope to get one more chance and

stake a little more, in order that he might win back some of his lost dominions, or else lose a little more. The thought that he could lose as well as win, seemed not to occur to his warped mind.

"The Hundred Days"

After many weary months of impatient waiting, Napoleon received tidings from France and from other countries which made him believe that his return to the Continent would result in the overthrow of the newly appointed king of France (Louis XVIII) and in a signal defeat of the allied powers. The latter were quarreling among themselves, now that their common enemy was safely imprisoned in his little island kingdom. Napoleon reasoned that he could easily defeat them separately before they had a chance to unite their forces. He visualized the resurrection of his great empire, a United States of Europe, bound together by his benevolent dictatorship. He decided to leave the island, which was not very carefully guarded by the British, and at the end of February, 1815, he successfully escaped. On March 1 he landed on the French coast near Nice; within three weeks he triumphantly entered Paris, and on June 15 he was defeated at Waterloo.[1]

There were several reasons why Napoleon was well received by the majority of Frenchmen. The mediocre talent of Louis XVIII formed a strange contrast to the genius of Napoleon, and the Bourbon king was held responsible for the economic distress which resulted from the competition of the cheap manufactures imported from England. The revenues of the new government were insufficient to provide for a large army, wherefore ten thousand officers were discharged and twelve thousand were given only half pay. The discontented officers thereupon took infinite pains to sow disrespect for the Bourbon king, while the nobles harmed his cause by starting a

[1] The period from March 1 to June 15, 1815, has become known in history as "The Hundred Days."

premature agitation for the recovery of their confiscated property.

However, the feeling of discontent was not the real cause of Napoleon's reception, even though he himself claimed that he had returned because the French were dissatisfied with the rule of Louis XVIII. It was his presence which caused the change in the hearts of thousands who before his return had been fully content to let Louis XVIII retain the throne. The moment Napoleon appeared on French soil, all the horrors and disasters of the past were forgotten. When the regiments sent by the new government confronted his handful of troops and saw the familiar face and listened to his stirring account of former victories and the military glory of old, they hesitated for a brief moment and then joined his forces. Marshal Ney, who had promised to capture Napoleon and bring him back "in a cage if necessary," changed his mind completely the very moment he came face to face with "the man of destiny." Everywhere the former emperor was hailed with unbounded enthusiasm. On March 20 he entered the Tuileries in Paris, while Louis XVIII removed to Ghent in Flanders.

On March 13 the allied statesmen in Vienna learned of Napoleon's triumphal procession to Paris and promptly renewed the pact of Chaumont. Notwithstanding Napoleon's repeated declarations to the effect that his intentions were this time purely pacific, the monarchs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and the government of Great Britain preferred military action to verbal agreement. It was Napoleon's aim again to separate the forces of his enemies and to defeat each in turn. But his plan miscarried. This time Wellington appeared with an army in the north, while Blücher once more came westward from Germany with Prussian troops; the Austrians were led across the Rhine by Schwarzenberg; and the Russians were also preparing to contribute to the defeat of the hated Corsican. On June 15 Napoleon left Paris for the northern frontier, planning to repeat his earlier strategy. Three days

later he met the British, Dutch, and German forces under Wellington at Waterloo, near Brussels, where one of the most famous battles in all history was fought. For hours the contest continued, without bringing a decision. Then came Blücher with fresh troops and so it happened that the last campaign of Napoleon came to a sudden and fatal end. It is obvious, however, that, even if the French had won, their great commander would not have been able to cope with the combined armies of the allies. Fortunately for Europe the struggle terminated with the dramatic defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo. "The Hundred Days" were over.

Napoleon was forced to abdicate for a second time, and was exiled to the island of St. Helena in the Atlantic Ocean, where he spent the remaining six years of his life, dreaming and writing about the empire that was once his. During these six years the havoc wrought by his misdirected ambitions was once more forgotten by his admirers in France. In the eyes of the French people he became a martyr and his cause was identified with that of the Revolution. It was believed that Napoleon had devoted his best energies to the welfare and glory of France. A legend grew up which idealized the character of the great emperor, and as the years went by, this "Napoleonic Legend" imputed all the blessings of the French Revolution to Napoleon and all the humiliation and misfortune which attended the fall of the Napoleonic empire to the Bourbons.

In the countries surrounding France, however, no delusions were entertained regarding the character of Napoleon, and, under the leadership of such reactionary statesmen as Metternich and Tsar Alexander I and Wellington, the majority of European rulers for a period of fifteen years concentrated much of their energy on the task of restoring what the French Revolution had destroyed. The era of Napoleon was followed by the era of Metternich. Nevertheless, the reforms inaugurated by the revolutionary leaders in France could not all be

undone. The abolition of serfdom, of feudal dues, of social inequality, of antiquated administrative and judicial machinery, and of autocracy remained permanent in most countries of western Europe, while the other nations, east of the Rhine, were slowly evolving from those social and economic conditions which in France had constituted the Old Régime.

SUGGESTED READINGS

General Works on Napoleon

E. Ludwig, *Napoleon.* A famous biography by one of the world's foremost writers. Very interesting and stimulating.

J. H. Rose, *The Life of Napoleon I.* A standard work.

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A. T. Mahan, *The Life of Nelson, the Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain,* 2 vols.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE

When in April, 1814, Napoleon Bonaparte laid down his crown, and sailed across the blue waters of the Mediterranean to his diminutive island of Elba, he left France and its former vassal states in a condition of chaos and turmoil and change. The French Revolution had spent its force when he executed his *coup d'état* in November, 1799. It had spread beyond the frontiers of France and affected the lives of millions in surrounding countries. Under the despotic rule of Napoleon the principle of liberty had lost its color, but the "Son of the Revolution," as Napoleon liked to call himself, had meticulously maintained the ideals of fraternity and equality. He had been instrumental in disseminating many of the ideas preached by Voltaire, Rousseau, Danton, and Robespierre. Wherever his armies had extended the political power of France, they carried with them the germs of social equality and of social and economic reform.

In some countries, however, a reaction against the influence of the French Revolution was plainly discernible. In Great Britain, where before the year 1789 conditions seemed ripe for thorough-going reforms, the leading statesmen were frightened by the excesses committed in Paris, and cautioned their followers against any immediate change in the government or in society. Furthermore, the *stadhouder* of the former Dutch Republic was patiently waiting in England for the day when his subjects would grow weary of French domination and rise against their oppressors; they would then ask him to return, he believed, and restore former institutions and cus-

toms. East of Holland, in Prussia, the monarch, timid and vacillating though he was, saw with displeasure the inauguration of social reform, and hoped some day to revive former conditions. The emperor of Austria was equally anxious to carry out a program of reaction, while the tsar of Russia and the Bourbon king of Spain were also opposed to popular sovereignty. Finally, in France itself the principle of reaction was finding an exponent in the person of a new king, named Louis XVIII, brother of the murdered Louis XVI. Almost everywhere in Europe the men in charge of the government were glad that Napoleon was gone and expected to materialize their dreams of restoration and reaction.

Results of the French Revolution

Since the rule of Napoleon was in many respects simply a continuation of the French Revolution, it is very difficult to measure the results of the French Revolution until one has made a study of the Era of Napoleon. But, though Napoleon thought of himself as the "Son of the Revolution," he suppressed much of the new and returned to much of the old. The Church regained a large share of its lost power, the republican calendar was dropped, republican institutions disappeared, the press was censored, the nobles returned from Germany and recovered some of their old prestige, and the very names of Senate, Tribunate, Council of State, Emperor, and Prefects unmistakably revealed the distrust felt by Napoleon for some of Rousseau's theories and his admiration for the institutions of ancient Rome and for the court of Louis XIV. On the other hand, the reign of Napoleon lasted only fifteen years and after his downfall there were still millions of people in France and elsewhere who preferred republican institutions to monarchies, and popular sovereignty to a benevolent despotism. Who could foretell in 1814 that France was

to be a republic within forty years any more than that this country was unfit for democracy?

Among the permanent results of the French Revolution in France may be reckoned the abolition of serfdom, the confiscation of Church property, the advancement of popular education, the extension of the suffrage, the disappearance of feudal obligations, the improvement in agricultural conditions, the reform in the finances, the codification of French laws, the improvement in the local and central government, the metric system of weights and measures, and the construction of important public works. Some of these results were directly the outcome of the Revolution; others were not so intimately related to it. Undoubtedly the genius of Napoleon was responsible for much of the change which is usually attributed to the Revolution. No one knows what might have become of the revolutionary principles if a military dictator of inferior calibre had subjected France to a rule distasteful to both monarchists and republicans.

Outside of France, the Revolution produced a great variety of changes. The southern Netherlands, which were subjected to French rule from 1792 till 1814, witnessed very much the same transformations in political and social conditions as did France itself. The Batavian Republic, which in 1806 was named the Kingdom of Holland under Louis, the brother of Napoleon, had for a period of more than fifteen years been strongly affected by French influence; in 1810 it finally became a French province. The German territory west of the Rhine likewise absorbed many of the principles of the French Revolution; it had been annexed to France as early as the year 1795, and shared with France the rule of the Directorate, the Consulate, and the Empire. The same was true of that portion of Italy which had become French territory, while the newly formed Kingdom of Italy, and the Kingdom of Naples were also participants in the adoption of conscription, the metric

system, an improved judiciary, and the three ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity. One need not explain that liberty under Napoleon savored as little of true liberty in Italy as in France.

The political change wrought in Italy was far-reaching. One third of the whole peninsula was annexed to France, namely, Piedmont, Genoa, Tuscany, Parma, and the western part of the Papal States. The Kingdom of Italy included Lombardy, Venetia, and the northeastern part of the Papal States. South of the new kingdom lay the kingdom of Naples, while Sicily and Sardinia each formed a separate kingdom. Napoleon entrusted his stepson, Eugene Beauharnais, with the government of the kingdom of Italy, although Napoleon himself retained the title of king. The viceroy, or regent, followed a vigorous policy of extending French influence in his dominions. Notwithstanding the determined opposition of the Italian subjects, he drafted an army of 80,000 men, and established schools for the training of officers. He also introduced the religious, social, legal, and economic reforms which Napoleon had inaugurated when he was First Consul of France. In southern Italy, French influence was even stronger than in the Kingdom of Italy. Here ruled Joseph, the brother of Napoleon (1806–1808), and Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law (1808–1815); and here, as in the Low Countries and the Rhenish provinces, the abolition of social inequality, the improvements in finance, agriculture, and commerce bore evidence of Napoleon's genius as a statesman. Greatest of all the good contributions made by Napoleon to the advancement of material well-being in Italy was the hope of future unification of the whole peninsula. The very name Kingdom of Italy was in itself a source of inspiration to those fervent patriots who before long would take active steps to unify the different Italian states.

Similar results were noticeable in the German states, of which a considerable number had been annexed to France, while those adjoining the new French frontiers formed allied

states of France. In the extreme northwest, some territory along the coast of the North Sea and stretching as far east as Lübeck, had been annexed in 1810, together with the short-lived kingdom of Holland. The Confederation of the Rhine, as was stated before, had been formed under the supervision of Napoleon, just before the latter declared the Holy Roman Empire to be dissolved (1806). The Confederation of the Rhine included the kingdoms of Westphalia, Württemberg, Saxony, and Bavaria, as well as several smaller states. The ruler of Westphalia was Jerome, a brother of Napoleon, who gladly did Napoleon's bidding in his new kingdom, introducing Napoleonic institutions as if he were on French soil. In Saxony, French influence was instrumental in placing the Roman Catholic religion on the same footing as Lutheranism, but aside from that it caused no important changes. Far different, on the other hand, were conditions in southern Germany, where the administrations were greatly improved, tithes abolished, customs barriers decreased, and feudalism weakened. In Bavaria, the Church was shorn of nearly all its political power, its property was secularized, and many of its monasteries were suppressed. Religious toleration was granted to both Catholics and Protestants throughout southern Germany, but social equality was not established as yet. Furthermore, many innovations enacted by the allies of Napoleon in various German states were not strictly applied. The people were not yet ready for the reforms which the French had deemed absolutely necessary. Racial antipathy undoubtedly delayed the materialization of French ideals in Germany.

In Spain the influence of the French Revolution produced peculiar results. It will be recalled that in 1808 Charles IV abdicated in favor of his son Ferdinand, but that in the same year Napoleon appointed his brother Joseph king of Spain. The latter in turn was unable to maintain his position as head of a rebellious nation; English troops arrived and finally the whole peninsula was freed from French domination. Never-

theless, in the very year 1812 when Wellington and the Spaniards drove the French out of southern Spain, and just before the remnant of the French army was expelled from the northern provinces, the Spanish statesmen framed the celebrated Constitution of 1812, which must be considered a signal triumph of the French Revolution. It was more radical than both the American and the French constitutions and was long regarded as a model for the liberal constitutions drafted in various countries of southern Europe. It stated that sovereignty was "vested essentially in the nation," and it provided for a legislature consisting of a Cortes, or parliament, of one house, to be elected for a term of two years by indirect election; executive power was nominally vested in the king, but actually given to the ministry; the king, however, received the right of suspensive veto over the bills passed by the Cortes. The constitution further declared that individual liberty and social equality were to be safeguarded; sweeping reforms were to transform the army, the administration, taxation, and the system of education. Church property was secularized and the Inquisition was suppressed.

In the grand-duchy of Warsaw reforms were also attempted at this time. Napoleon granted the Poles a constitution, and religious toleration; he introduced the Napoleonic Code and advocated the destruction of serfdom and feudalism. In this region, however, located as it was between reactionary Prussia and backward Russia, the vestiges of medieval institutions were too firmly imbedded in the lives of the people to be eradicated in a few years. As for the tsardom of Russia, the influence of the French Revolution was felt here mostly by the ruler and his court. Tsar Alexander I at one time expected great results from the program of social reform he was to carry out, but, because of the ignorance of his people and later on account of his own changed attitude, the reforms contemplated by him about the year 1815 were not put into effect.

The Era of Reaction

Hardly had Napoleon left for Elba when almost everywhere in Europe the forces of reaction were set in motion. Spain was first to shake off the newly acquired principles of revolution and reform, partly because Spain was the first nation which rose successfully against Napoleon, and partly because the Spanish people had never fully understood the advantages which accrued from popular sovereignty. The Constitution of 1812 was not of native growth; it contained ideas borrowed from the United States and Great Britain and France. Furthermore, the Spaniards, weary of war and chaos, preferred the concrete fruits of peace and order to the hazy benefits of personal liberty. Hence it was possible for a man like King Ferdinand VII, whose power was restored in 1814, to institute an autocracy which could not have lasted more than a few years in France or Great Britain. Ferdinand immediately declared the Constitution null and void and reinstated absolute monarchy. The press was censored again, the Inquisition revived, the Jesuits returned to Spain, the property of the Church was recovered, and those who had purchased some of it received no compensation. All citizens who had supported Joseph Bonaparte were exiled, and particular effort was made to extinguish every remnant of French influence.

North of France, in the Low Countries, or Netherlands, there was also felt a powerful wave of reaction. At the close of the year 1813 three prominent Dutch statesmen created a provisional government for the seven provinces which had formerly constituted the Dutch Republic. Emboldened by popular approval, they sent an invitation to the Prince of Orange, then residing in London, to accept the title of King of the Netherlands. As early as April, 1813, the British government had promised him assistance on condition that Holland should be extended "either by a sort of new barrier,

more effective than the old one, or by the union of some portions of territory adjacent to the ancient Republic; Holland must wait until such time as Great Britain should deem convenient in her own interests for the restoration of the Dutch colonies, which it had conquered during the war." William of Orange also knew that he could rely on the assistance of Frederick William III of Prussia, who was his brother-in-law. So in November, 1813, he decided to cross the North Sea and form a new government for Holland. He was greeted with unbounded joy when he landed on the Dutch coast. The French troops, still remaining in many of the Dutch cities, were driven out with the aid of the Prussians and the Russians. A constitution of a distinctly aristocratic character was drafted and arrangements were made for the union of all the provinces which had composed the former United Netherlands, or Dutch Republic, and the Austrian Netherlands. According to the Peace of Paris, signed in May, 1814, "Holland, placed under the sovereignty of the House of Orange," was to "receive an increase of territory." It was not until the year 1815, however, that the leading statesmen of Europe could agree on the extent of the new state; nor was it decided at once what the title of the Prince of Orange was to be.

In France itself a mighty contest was waged between the forces of reaction and radicalism. Slowly the country emerged from the state of chaos which followed the collapse of Napoleon's rule. The two most pressing problems confronting the allies who defeated Napoleon were that of reshaping the frontiers of France and that of finding a successor to Napoleon in France. The British diplomats hastened to explain that France could not expect to retain Antwerp and surrounding territory, inasmuch as the safety of Great Britain would be endangered if France was enlarged in that direction. Prussia was equally emphatic in opposing French occupation of German territory on the left bank of the Rhine. However, the allied statesmen took great pains to inform the French that

their quarrel was not with the French people but with the Corsican usurper. The reason, so they argued, why France could not keep the frontiers of 1793 was because of the insane ambition of Napoleon. As for the question of what government France should have, the Allies could not at first decide. The Austrian emperor wished to see his daughter, Maria Louisa, established in France as a queen-regent. The Russian tsar dreamed of appointing a puppet king of his own choice and personally dependent on him. Castlereagh, the British statesman, had different plans. Only a Bourbon, said he, could succeed Napoleon and help to preserve the balance of power; France should be completely independent, but it could not make the Rhine its frontier to the east and north. The stubborn resistance of Napoleon during the opening months of 1814 drew the Allies more closely together; first came the treaty of Chaumont, signed among themselves in March; then followed the abdication of Napoleon on April 11. Less than a month after the departure of Napoleon, a new monarch entered Paris to take over the reins of government. This new ruler was Louis XVIII, a brother of Louis XVI. The British had won, for they had proposed the most reasonable plan, and they possessed adequate resources to enforce this plan.

It had become fully apparent to Tsar Alexander I of Russia and to his allied friends that the restoration of the Bourbons was the logical outcome of the war in France, just as the return of the Prince of Orange in Holland and of Ferdinand of the Bourbon family in Spain seemed most salutary. Louis XVIII had been living in England, the home of many exiled princes, and had gladly accepted the invitation to become king of France. Since the so-called Louis XVII, the son of Louis XVI, died in 1795, his uncle dated his reign from the year 1795.

The new king has often been accused of inability to learn anything from the French Revolution; he is said to have profited nothing by the errors committed by Louis XVI, and

to have tried to restore as much of the Old Régime as he possibly could. It would be well to consider, however, how great was the change he found in France since the year in which the Bastile fell, and how much of the revolutionary heritage he tolerated. He accepted conditions as they had been left by Napoleon, such as the new codes, the educational system, the financial administration, and kept many of Napoleon's prefects and sub-prefects in their places. He recognized the fundamental principles of the French Revolution. He was well educated, tactful, and courteous. The Senate, which had invited him to the throne, had drafted a program of constitutional government, and had laid down a number of conditions which Louis was to accept. The latter realized the need of dignified acquiescence and accepted every condition, except one; instead of having a constitution imposed upon him, he insisted on promulgating it himself in the form of a royal charter, as if to show that he was a real monarch and would not expect to capitulate to the wishes of the people. In this way he gained the respect of his subjects as well as of the tsar and the emperor of Austria. Tsar Alexander I, who was looked upon as the mightiest potentate of Europe and had condescendingly approved of the return of the Bourbons to power, remarked, "One would have said that it was he who had just replaced me upon my throne."

The Royal Charter of 1814 provided for a constitutional, or limited monarchy, in which the legislature consisted of two houses, one of hereditary peers chosen by the king, and one of deputies elected by a limited suffrage. Only the prosperous members of the middle class and the wealthier citizens were given the franchise. The jury system was retained, and the judiciary kept independent. Religious freedom was granted to all denominations and freedom of the press was guaranteed. The two houses could not initiate legislation, but merely act on measures proposed by the king; however, none of those measures could become law without their consent. Absolute mon-

archy was gone, but popular sovereignty had also disappeared. The king, remembering what had become of his brother, thought it expedient to accept the situation for the present, hoping some day to follow the example of that other Bourbon king, ruling in Spain, and to restore phase after phase of the Old Régime.

At the end of May, 1814, France made peace with its enemies. Thanks to the clever diplomacy of Talleyrand, the man who had served his country so well during the revolutionary period and the reign of Napoleon, France lost no territory, although it had been decisively defeated. Talleyrand had favored the restoration of the Bourbons to power, because without them "France would have been condemned to servitude or partition." Talleyrand explained to the Allies that the French people should not be held responsible for the ambition of Napoleon. His conquests and his despotic rule was not their fault; consequently they should not be punished for his excesses. The Allies, on the other hand, had not been fighting Napoleon so much as France, and this fact began gradually to dawn upon the minds of educated Frenchmen. The Treaty of Paris, signed by the Allies in 1814, was nearly as severe as the treaty they would have drafted had they been victorious in 1792. It is true, they seized not an inch of French territory, but they considered themselves extremely fortunate not to have lost any themselves. In 1813 they would gladly have left the French in possession of all German territory west of the Rhine. One should not overestimate the finesse of Talleyrand's diplomacy, for the French had set their hearts on the annexation of the former Austrian Netherlands, and when they saw their desires blocked by Great Britain, they felt bitterly disappointed. Had not French frontiers extended to the Baltic Sea as late as the year 1813? And now, one year later, France was allowed to annex only a few square miles of territory on the eastern frontier, while Prussia, Austria, and Russia kept their respective Polish provinces, while Holland was greatly

enlarged, while Great Britain received three French islands (Tobago, St. Lucia, and Mauritius, or Ile de France), not to mention the territorial acquisitions of the year 1815.

In Italy the influence of the French Revolution suffered a serious check when Napoleon's firm hand was suddenly withdrawn. Lombardy and Venetia were placed under Austrian rule, and the Napoleonic code, the jury system, and civil marriage were forthwith abolished; social equality, however, was maintained to a large degree. In Piedmont, the king, who had been residing in Sardinia until 1814, restored all institutions and social conditions as they had prevailed before 1800. His hatred for the French was so great that he wished to close the road across Mont Cenis because it had been constructed by the French. In the Papal States a similar policy was followed. Throughout the peninsula the maxims of restoration and reaction were nearly as fully applied as in Spain.

The German states also experienced a reversion to the earlier conditions. Austria naturally led in the attempt to undo the work of Napoleon, but its emperor was unable to restore the Holy Roman Empire, nor was there much desire in other districts east of France to revive the three hundred states which had disappeared during the Napoleonic régime. Bavaria lost a part of Tyrol, but forsook the cause of Napoleon early enough to satisfy the Allies, while the ruler of Saxony, for refusing to desert Napoleon, was arrested and threatened with the loss of his kingdom. In the meantime it was deemed necessary by the statesmen of the allied countries to convoke a congress of rulers and diplomats who would be called upon to supervise the further reconstruction of Europe.

The Congress of Vienna

It was Vienna, the capital of Austria, which happened to be selected as the meeting-place of the leading statesmen of Europe. Austria, it will be remembered, had risen more fre-

quently than any other continental power against the French. Austria was opposing the French when Prussia and Russia had adopted a fatal policy of neutrality or alliance with Napoleon. Austria had been humbled several times because its neighbors did not support it in the hour of supreme danger. Now that the French had at last been completely defeated, it seemed proper that the Austrian capital should be selected as the logical setting for the great congress.

There was one other reason why Vienna was selected and why Austria was honored above some of its neighbors. In the year 1809, when Austria had been defeated for the last time by France, a man had risen to power who was destined to play an important rôle in European affairs, with the result that many historians have named the period from 1815 till 1830 after him. This man was Count Clemens Metternich, a descendant of a very ancient noble family in western Germany. He had married a grand-daughter of Kaunitz, the Austrian chancellor, and inherited from the latter the prestige of a successful diplomat. In 1809 Metternich assumed the position in the Austrian government of the chief minister of the emperor, and such was his ability and ambition that he, more than his own master, ruled Austria. He was careful not to repeat the policies adopted formerly by the Austrian government toward the French. It was partly the result of his diplomacy that Napoleon married Maria Louisa, the daughter of Emperor Francis I. He maintained friendly relations with both Napoleon and the Russian tsar, but delighted in seeing the two emperors engage in the terrible war of 1812. When once Napoleon was defeated by the Russians, Metternich employed the army which had been carefully equipped when other armies were being annihilated, so that in the battle at Leipzig, in October, 1813, his forces contributed most to the defeat of the French. Consequently the Austrians immediately recovered much of the prestige lost by them between 1792 and 1809.

In the year 1814 the war between France and Austria was carried on not so much by armies as by diplomats. In this conflict the Austrians were represented by Metternich, the French by Talleyrand. Whereas Metternich had gradually risen to power through the social prestige of his family and that of his wife as well as through his own efforts, Talleyrand came to Vienna as a foreigner, from revolutionary France, now a defeated nation, and before 1813 a dangerous enemy of order and political stability. Talleyrand had no friends in Vienna who were pleased to introduce him to kings, princes, and gracious ladies. He had to work his own way through a labyrinth of social obstacles. It must be borne in mind that the Congress of Vienna was not an assembly of statesmen who regularly met in sessions devoted exclusively to diplomatic business. The congress was never formally opened, nor was it ever organized. The statesmen of Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia assumed the power to dictate terms to their less influential colleagues, and among the latter Talleyrand was expected to keep a humble place. To the amazement of the allied diplomats, however, he not only rose to a position of personal power, but secured for France not unfavorable terms, in spite of the fact that in 1815 Napoleon returned to France, was welcomed and supported there, and brought about a second defeat and still greater humiliation for that unhappy nation.

One of the difficulties experienced by the assembled statesmen at Vienna was the desire on the part of various great powers to annex as much territory as possible, even though it had to be at the expense of their neighbors. Chief among the difficulties was the so-called Polish-Saxon question. After the collapse of the grand duchy of Warsaw, the tsar of Russia wished to annex not only the territory which had been added to Russia by Catherine II, but also the area acquired by Prussia in the second and third partitions of Poland. Prussia, on the other hand, desired to seize the whole of Saxony,

because the ruler of the latter country had supported Napoleon even after October, 1813. Great Britain and Austria opposed the plans of Prussia and Russia, while France joined the alliance between England and Austria in January 1815, thanks to the efforts of Talleyrand.

It must not be imagined that Talleyrand and Metternich were the only great statesmen who fought battles in the Austrian metropolis. There was Lord Castlereagh, for example, who, together with the duke of Wellington represented Great Britain; there was Hardenberg from Prussia and Nesselrode from Russia. Furthermore, there was Tsar Alexander I himself, who with his fantastic and mystical ideas fashioned plans which proved highly impractical; then there was King Frederick William III of Prussia, who vacillated between the policy of bold aggression and timid subserviency; finally, there were the kings of Bavaria, Württemberg, and Denmark, and a host of German princes. For such a group of exalted potentates it was deemed necessary to arrange for entertainment in the form of frequent balls, concerts, and plays, and an enormous amount of time was frittered away in gay Vienna when far away on the island of Elba sat the Corsican statesman, dreaming of a return to France and to renewed military glory. Had he been content to remain on his little island empire, the Congress of Vienna might have ended in failure. The selfishness of the reactionary monarchs, the mutual jealousies and rivalries, the haggling over minute details in the special committees, together with the frivolous abandon adopted by princely lords and beautiful ladies was enough to wreck any peace conference.

Perhaps Napoleon did the enemies of France a great service when he left Elba and safely landed on the southern coast of France. As soon as the diplomats and monarchs, assembled at Vienna, heard of Napoleon's triumphal march through southern France, they quickly changed their attitude, and by June 9 the last article of peace was completed. While their generals converged on northern France and the Low Countries,

EUROPE
IN 1815
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400
Boundary of German Confederation
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES
Bergen
Christiania
SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
UNITED KINGDOM
Belfast
Edinburgh
IRELAND
Dublin
WALES
ENGLAND
London
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Amsterdam
DENMARK
HELIGOLAND (Gr. Br.)
HOLSTEIN
Hamburg
Bremen
HANOVER
KD. OF THE NETHERLANDS
Cologne
WESTPHALIA
HESSE
Elbe
CHANNEL IS.
Luxemburg
Seine
Paris
Loire
Rhine
BADEN
WURTTEMBERG
BAVARIA
Munich
Bay of Biscay
FRANCE
Bordeaux
Garonne
Lyons
Berne
SWITZERLAND
Innsbruck
LOMBARDY
VENETIA
Rhone
Toulouse
Genoa
PAPAL STATES
TUSCANY
ELBA
CORSICA
Rome
Oporto
Douro
Ebro
SPAIN
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
Tagus
Madrid
Barcelona
Marseilles
Guadiana
Valencia
BALEARIC IS
SARDINIA
KINGD. OF THE SICIL
Guadalquivir
Cadiz
Tarifa
GIBRALTAR (Gr. Br.)
MEDITERRANEAN
Palermo
ALGERIA
TUNIS
MOROCCO
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO. N.Y.

20
30
40
50
60
White Sea
Gulf of Bothnia
FINLAND
Dvina
L. Onega
Kama
L. Ladoga
Abo
Helsingfors
St. Petersburg
Gulf of Finland
Kazan
ESTHONIA
Volga
Moscow
Oka
Riga
COURLAND
Dvina
SEA
Konigsberg
Vilna
Minsk
RUSSIA
Saratov
Volga
Warsaw
POLAND
Dniester
Kiev
UKRAINE
Don
Rostov
Dniester
Odessa
Sea of Azov
CIRCASSIA
Buda Pest
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
Pruth
CRIMEA
GEORGIA
Theiss
WALLACHIA
Bucharest
BLACK SEA
Poti
Belgrade
SERVIA
Danube
Trebizond
40
Constantinople
MONTE-NEGRO
Scutari
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
ARMENIA
Salonica
ASIA MINOR
AEGEAN SEA
Smyrna
IONIAN IS.
GREECE
Athens
RHODES
CYPRUS
SYRIA
CRETE
SEA
20
30

where so many battles of worldwide importance had already been fought and remained to be fought in the future, they drew up a large number of decisions, which composed the Treaties of Vienna. These were supplemented in November, 1815, by the second treaty of Paris.

The Bourbons were restored in Spain and in the Two Sicilies, the house of Savoy in Piedmont and Sardinia, and the house of Orange in Holland. Pope Pius VII recovered the Papal States and Austria regained Tyrol and the Illyrian provinces. Switzerland was restored to its former status of an independent republic with a federal government, and the great powers promised to maintain its integrity. Great changes were made in Italy, where Lombardy and Venetia became Austrian provinces; Genoa was annexed against its will to Sardinia, the rulers of Modena and Tuscany were reinstated, and Maria Louisa, Napoleon's wife, received Parma. In the German states the principles of restoration and reaction also reigned triumphant. The Confederation of the Rhine was dissolved. A new confederation was formed under another name, the German Confederation, which consisted of thirty-eight sovereign states under the presidency of Austria. Prussia did not recover more than a small portion of the Polish territory annexed in 1793 and 1795, for this was given to Russia; however, Prussia received two fifths of Saxony, a considerable part of the former kingdom of Westphalia, and some valuable territory on the left bank of the Rhine. Austria surrendered a small part of Poland to Russia. Sweden received Norway as a reward for having supported Russia and Prussia in 1813, while Denmark, in losing Norway, was punished for its "treason." Finland was ceded by Sweden to Russia and relinquished its claim on Swedish Pomerania, which was added to Prussia.

Great Britain received substantial gains at the expense of Holland, France, and Spain. It appropriated South Africa, one half of Guiana, Ceylon, Malta, Mauritius, Tobago, St. Lucia, Trinidad, and a part of Honduras. Holland was compensated

for its colonial losses by a payment of about $30,000,000 and an increase of territory to the south as far as the French frontier. The former Austrian Netherlands, which had a larger population than Holland and had remained a separate country since 1578, were united with the seven northern provinces, without being consulted. William of Orange was honored with the title of king and the new state was named the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The union of the two states virtually amounted to the annexation by Holland of the southern provinces, and the union was a serious blunder from the very start. Of course, the whole peace conference was guided by the old principle of reward and punishment, conquest and compensation. The principle of nationalism was almost entirely ignored. In spite of the influence of the French Revolution and notwithstanding the high-sounding phrases of the exalted monarchs and their dignified satellites, the disregard of the popular will and the suppression of popular liberty clearly revealed that democracy had not yet come into its own.

In November, 1815, the second Treaty of Paris was signed by France and the allied powers. Thanks to the skillful diplomacy of Talleyrand, the French obtained tolerably favorable terms. They agreed to pay the allies a sum of 700,000,000 francs (the equivalent of $140,000,000) within five years and to submit to the military occupation of their northern departments by allied forces and at French expense; they lost merely a few square miles of territory on the eastern frontier, including some fortresses; and they were to accept the counsel of the ambassadors of the four great allied powers (Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia).

With Napoleon safely out of the way and the French properly subdued; with the Bourbons restored in France, Spain, and southern Italy; with the house of Orange reigning over a new kingdom which greatly exceeded in area and economic power the former Dutch Republic; with Britain's naval pres-

tige fully recovered; with Prussia again in the ascendant and Austria rewarded for its resistance to the Corsican adventurer; with Tsar Alexander I of Russia beginning to feel the influence of Metternich—it appeared in 1815 as if the French Revolution had spent its force outside of France by battling in vain against the principles of restoration and reaction. And as Metternich increased his sway over Bourbon, Habsburg, and Romanov rulers, the time seemed still far away when democracy would make much progress. On the other hand, not even the most autocratic of monarchs was able to undo entirely the work of Montesquieu and Rousseau. Particularly in the countries nearest to France, the doctrines of social equality, of liberty, and of brotherly love, or "fraternity," continued to work as a leaven among the people.

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